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An edition of the ten commandments commentary in BL Harley 2398 and the related version in Trinity College Dublin 245, York Minster XVI.L.12 and Harvard English 738 : together with discussion of related commentaries.

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AN EDITION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS COMMENTARY
IN
BL HARLEY 2398
AND THE RELATED VERSION
IN
TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN 245, YORK MINSTER XVI.L.12
AND HARVARD ENGLISH 738
TOGETHER WITH DISCUSSION OF RELATED COMMENTARIES

Judith Anne Jefferson

A thesis submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the
requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of
Arts(Department of English)

November 1995



Abstract

This is an edition of the ten commandments commentary found in BL Harley 2398 and the related version found in Trinity College Dublin 245, York Minster XVI.L.12 and Harvard English 738. The edition includes notes and glossary, discussion of the historical background and of the date of the two versions, of the relationship between them, and of the language of each witness. Possible relationships with other Middle English commandments commentaries are discussed, with special attention being paid to passages of close verbal correspondence. These possibly related commentaries are classified according to form, and lists are given of the manuscripts which contain witnesses of each version.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the help of Dr. H.L. Spencer and Professor J.A. Burrow, who have been (successively) my supervisors, the encouragement of my family, and the patience and helpfulness of staff in the various libraries concerned, but particularly in Bristol University Library.

Author's Declaration

The accompanying thesis is based on work carried out by the author in the Department of English at Bristol University between 1990 and 1995.

All work and ideas are original unless otherwise acknowledged in the text or by reference. The views expressed in this dissertation are the views of the author and not of the University.

Signed Judith A. Jefferson

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A&M</i>	Foxe, <i>Acts and Monuments</i> .
AFr	Anglo-French
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian
<i>BVV</i>	<i>The Book of Vices and Virtues</i>
<i>C&S</i>	<i>Councils and Synods</i>
<i>Census Sup.</i>	Faye, C.U. and Bond, W.H, <i>Supplement to the Census</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
CS	<i>Camden Series</i> (London, 1838-)
CUL	Cambridge University Library
<i>CYS</i>	<i>Canterbury and York Society</i>
<i>DCD</i>	Wyclif, <i>De Civili Dominio</i>
DI	Discursive Version I (see <i>Introduction</i> pp.cxxxiii and cxli ff.)
<i>DMD</i>	Wyclif, <i>De Mandatis Divinis</i> .
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. L. Stephen and S.Lee (Oxford 1917-49)
<i>DOP</i>	Unless otherwise stated, this refers to the English version of <i>De Officio Pastoralis</i> edited by Matthew in <i>The English Works of Wyclif</i> , pp.405-57.
<i>DP</i>	<i>Dives and Pauper</i>

<i>EETS</i>	<i>Early English Text Society</i> (London, 1864-); <i>os</i> <i>Original Series</i> ; <i>es</i> <i>Extra Series</i> ; <i>ss</i> <i>Supplementary</i> <i>Series</i> : where no series is given, the <i>Original</i> <i>Series</i> may be assumed.
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EWS</i>	<i>English Wycliffite Sermons</i>
<i>EV</i>	Early Version of the Wycliffite Bible
<i>Floretum</i>	This refers to the version contained in BL MS Harley 401.
<i>FZ</i>	<i>Fasciculi Zizaniorum</i>
<i>HA</i>	Walsingham, <i>Historia Anglicana</i>
<i>HS</i>	Robert of Brunne, <i>Handlyng Synne</i>
<i>IMEP</i>	Edwards, A.S.G.(ed.), <i>The Index of Middle English Prose</i>
<i>IMEV</i>	Brown, C. and Robbins, R.H. (eds.), <i>Index of Middle English</i> <i>Verse</i>
<i>IPMEP</i>	Lewis, R.E. <i>et al.</i> , <i>Index of Printed Middle English</i> <i>Prose</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> ; n.s., new series
<i>LAO</i>	Lincolnshire Archives Office
Laud Misc.	Laud Miscellaneous
<i>LFC</i>	<i>Lay Folks' Catechism</i>
<i>LL</i>	<i>Lanterne of List</i>
<i>LV</i>	Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible
<i>MÆ</i>	<i>Medium Ævum</i>
<i>MED</i>	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> , ed. H Kurath, S.M. Kuhn

	<i>et al.</i> (Ann Arbor, 1952-)
MET	Middle English Texts
MMBL	<i>Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries</i> , for vols. i.-iii see Ker, N., for vol. iv see Ker, N. and Piper, A.J.
MS	<i>Medieval Studies</i>
MV	<i>The Metropolitan Visitations of William Courteney</i>
NQ	<i>Notes and Queries</i> , n.s. new series.
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> (13 vols., Oxford, reissued 1933)
OFr	Old French
PC	<i>Pore Caitif</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , ed. J.P.Migne (Paris, 1857-66)
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.P.Migne (Paris, 1841-)
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
PP	<i>Piers Plowman</i>
PR	Hudson, <i>The Premature Reformation</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
Rosarium	Unless otherwise indicated (i.e. by manuscript reference) this refers to the ME translation edited by von Nolcken. G indicates the ME version as it appears in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 354/581. References to the Latin <i>Rosarium</i> are taken from BL MS Harley 3226.
RP	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i>
RS	Rolls Series
SCH	<i>Studies in Church History</i> (London, 1964-)

<i>SEWW</i>	<i>Selections from English Wycliffite Writings</i>
<i>ST</i>	Aquinas, <i>Summa Theologiae</i> .
<i>STC</i>	Pollard and Redgrave, <i>A Short-Title Catalogue</i>
<i>TCD</i>	Trinity College, Dublin.
<i>TWT</i>	<i>Two Wycliffite Texts</i> , ed. Hudson

INTRODUCTION DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

B: BL MS Harley 2398

s.xv in.

For previous descriptions, see Knares (1808), pp.685-6; Knight (1967), pp.7-9; Kengen (1979), pp.7-8; Bremmer (1987) pp.xi-xviii.

Technical Description

Membrane, ff.vi+194+ii. Modern foliation in pencil: 1-127, 127* , 128-193. This foliation has been retained in this description. The first two endleaves and the rear endleaves are post-medieval paper. The first of the medieval endleaves has been almost cut out. Size: 191 x 126mm. Written space: 139x79mm. Ruled in a single column of 31 lines. Pricking is visible at the outside edges, although some of this has been lost as a result of cropping. Writing normally begins under the first ruled line unless there are headings.

Collation

1-23⁸, 24¹⁰. Medieval quire signatures as follows: 1-9/a-i, 10-16/a-g, 17-22/k,l,m,o,p,q. These are accompanied by leaf signatures in the form of small Roman numerals and, in the case of quires 10-16, arabic numerals with the Roman numerals above. Some signatures have been partially lost as a result of cropping. Quire 23 has leaf signatures but no quire signatures. Quire 24 has

neither. Catchwords are visible in the usual place at the end of each gathering.

Contents

1. ff.1^r-69^r, headed *Memoriale credencium*; inc. *Man and womman þat wylneþ to fle synne*; expl. *be hy yhyeyzede in þe blysse of heuene. Amen. Explicit tractatus vocatus Memoriale Credencium auro preciosior*. Edited J.H.L. Kengen (1979) (from Bodl. Tanner 201). *IPMEP*[448].
2. ff.69^v-72^v, inc. *A womman recluse and solitarye coueitynge to knowen*; expl. on f.70^v and *bryngen his soule into heuene blisse. Amen per charite*. Followed by the Latin text of the fifteen prayers referred to in the English section, ending on f.72^v.
3. ff.73^r-106^r Commentary on the Ten Commandments. This is the text of the present edition.
4. ff.106^v-127^r [*The Fyve Wyttes*]; inc. *As it is byfore seyd so muche diligence no so gret bysynesse*; expl. *where þe holy gost techeth and enspireth. Explicit bonus tractatus de quinque sensibus*. Edited R.H. Bremmer (1987) (from this manuscript).
F.127^v is blank.
5. ff.128^r-140^r, inc. *It byhoueth specialy to euery man þat desyreþ*; expl. *bot brynge ous to our heritage þat is euerlastyng blysse. Amen*. Edited in part by Fleming (1967) (from Princeton Garrett 143). (Jolliffe D.8).
6. ff.140^r-153^r, headed *Sermo magistri Thome Wymyldoun apud crucem in cimiterio Sancti Pauli Londoun*; inc. *Redde rationem*

villicacionis tue. Luce 16^{mo}. My dere frendes; expl. and he ous graunte þerof þis ioie parte. Amen. Edited Knight (1967) (from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 357). *IPMEP*[560].

7. ff.153^r-155^v, rubric *Here bygynneþ þe exposicioun of þe Pater Noster*; inc. *Ech Cristen man oweþ to knowe*; expl. *in þe ioie of heuene. Amen. Here endeþ þe exposicioun of þe Pater Noster as Seynt Edmund expounyth in his Speculum.* This is an extract of *The Myrroure of Seynt Edmonde*, edited (i) Perry (1867), pp.15-47, revd. edn. (1914), pp. 16-62 (from Lincoln Cathedral 91); (ii) Horstmann i.219-40 (as in (i)). *IPMEP*[800].

8. ff.156^r-160^v, headed *How men þat beþ in hele scholde visite syke men*; inc. *My dere sone or douster in God*; expl. *in þyne mercyful hondes I putte it. Amen. Explicit visitacio infirmorum.* Edited (i) Horstmann ii.449-53 (from Oxford, University College 97); (ii) Littlehales, pp.6-8 (from BL Additional 32320, ending imperfectly); (iii) Krochalis and Peters, pp.195-202 (from CUL Dd.1.17). *IPMEP*[460]

9. ff.160^v-166^v, headed *Of Wedded Men and Wyues and here Childrene also*; inc. *Ovre Lord Ihesu Crist God almiȝty spekeþ in his lawe*; expl. *Ihesu Crist in þe blysse of heuene wiþoute eny ende. Amen.* Edited Arnold iii.188-201 (from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 296) *IPMEP*[521].

10. ff. 166^v-174^r [*þe Pater Noster*]; inc. *Syþþe þe Pater Noster is þe beste prayer þat is*; expl. *þat we may come to him in blysse and wonye wiþ him in ioie wiþoute eny ende. Amen.* Edited Arnold iii.98-110 (from this manuscript). *IPMEP*[604].

11. ff.174^r-175^v, inc. *As witnesseth holy writ and holy doctours,*

þer þeþ two weyes; expl. 3it it is wonder hard and bitter. (Jolliffe I.2).

12. ff.175^v-185^r, headed *Sermo in Die Pasche Ad Populum*; inc. *Ihesum queritis nazarenum crucifixum*; expl. *Crist brynge 3ow þat for 3ow schadde his blood. Amen.* (For the final section of this, see Jolliffe K.9, noted by Bremmer p.xvii).

13. f.185^r Memorandum by John Saruant: *Memorandum. Thomas Saruant dyed the xxv daye of August in the fouwrthe and fyfte yeare of the raygne of Phyllype and Mary, by the grace of God kynge and queane of Yngglond, Frawnce, Napulle, Jerusaleme and Irlonde etc. In the yeare of oure Lord God 1599. John Saruant.* F. 185^v is blank.

14. ff.186^r-188^v, inc. *Cum autem oraueris etc. Mathei sexto.* *Whanne þou schapest þe to praye; expl. in paynes of purgatorie abydyng þere þy mercy. Amen. Explicit excitacio optima ad orandum.* Edited as part of the longer treatise *Fervor Amoris* in Horstmann ii.102-5 (from Wynkyn de Worde (1506) (STC 21259)). (Jolliffe H.15, M.15). *IPMEP*[362].

15. ff.188^v-190^v rubric *Here bygynneþ a schort reule of lyf for euerych man in general and for prestes and lordes and laboreres in special how ech schal be saued in his degre; inc. First whan þou rysest or fully wakest; expl. for þe fals lyuyng of wyckede cristene men et cetera. Explicit regula Cristiana.* Edited Arnold iii.204-8 (from Bodl. Laud Miscellaneous 174). *IPMEP*[203].

Handwriting.

One scribe throughout. The script shows many of the characteristics of bastard secretary of the early fifteenth century as illustrated by Parkes (1979) (Plate 14 (i), and see Bremmer p.xii). Abbreviations are not frequent, but the most common (apart from the abbreviation for *and*) are those for *n* and *m* and for *er*.

Punctuation

The end of a major section of text is normally marked by a 7-shaped positura, by a punctus, or by a small 'tick'-shaped stroke. The punctus elevatus is used for a medial pause. Paraphs are dealt with below.

Decoration and Presentation

Paraphs are coloured alternately red and blue. Marginal apparatus is normally in black, occasionally red, underlined and boxed in at the sides in red. Latin quotations are normally underlined in red, and there are red headings. Decorated capitals are normally blue with red decoration. Within the text these normally take up two lines (but occasionally up to four), at the beginning of a new text up to 5. Spaces of between 3 and 6 lines have been left for capitals which have not been completed.

Correction

Marginal correction in the hand of the scribe is common, the place

for insertion being indicated by means of a caret mark or, occasionally, by a small cross (+) or diple. Deletion and expunction are also used.

Provenance

The third of the medieval endleaves, (modern pencil foliation 2*) bears on the recto side the following dedication (in the same hand as the inscription on f.191^r mentioned above): *To my Rob. William Oldsworth*. This suggests that William Oldsworth presented the book to Sir Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford (d.1725). (See Bremmer p.xviii [5] and for Oldsworth see *DNB*). The following note in a sixteenth century hand on f.192^v has been transcribed by Bremmer (p.xviii): *..yn galle hathe a wiff and ye[t] he ys a woynng for more. What a Knaue ys tat. Subscrybyd by me Rycherd Seruant of Mycheldeane in the Countie of Glouster.....* John Sarvant (see above item 13) and Richard Servant have not been identified. The names *Watter Dave* and *Rycherd* occur on f.193^r and that of *John* on f.193^v.

Marginalia

Marginalia occur in a later hand e.g. *lucifer* f.6^v. A list in Latin of the seven works of bodily mercy in a hand of the later fifteenth century appears on f.190^v and f.191^r has an inscription in an eighteenth century hand, *Make much of an old friend*.

Binding

According to the second rear endleaf, the manuscript was rebound in 1951.

H: Harvard MS English 738 s.xiv ex.-s.xv in.

For previous descriptions see *Census Sup* p.225; Ives (1942), pp.3-9; Voigts (1985), pp 26-7.

As it has not been possible to see this manuscript except on microfilm, the reader is referred to the description given by Voigts for information which can only be obtained by handling the manuscript.

Modern foliation is present throughout: 1-71, 71*, 72-85. This foliation has been retained in the description below. The material is written in a single column. There are 23 lines to a page.

Contents

1. ff.1^r-30^v, headed *Pe comaundementes*. Commentary on the Ten Commandments, edited here.
2. f.30^v, rubric *Leccio: Resoun techep þat neiþer etynge ne fastinge is medeful bi hitselfe, but goode entent and clene makeþ mans soule deuoute to Godde*. Apparently the beginning of another text of which the remainder is missing. Voigts suggests (p.26) that, as f.31 is a new quire and the beginning of item 3, 'there may well be one or more gatherings missing on

which this text would continue'.

3. ff.31^r-76^r, headed *Pe vij dedli synnes*; inc. *Sythe bileue techep vs pat eueri yuele is sinne*; expl. *for scharp veniance takip God for siche sinnes*. Edited Arnold iii.119-67 (from Bodl. Bodley 647). *IPMEP*[596].
4. ff.76^r-84^v, ff.84^v-85^v [*Pe Seven Werkys of Mercy Bodyly and Pe Seven Werkys of Mercy Gostly*] (incomplete); rubric (i) *Pis sentence teecheþ of þe werkes of mercy boþe bodily and gosteli to þe which grete tente schlde be taken*; inc. (i) *Ife a man were sure pat he schulde tomorow cume before a iuge*; expl. *ellis vs fayleþ rist to dymes*; rubric (ii) *Her bene þe werkes of mercy goostely*; inc. *Sip we scholden serue oure parischenis in spiritual almes*; expl. *to bringe mennes soulis to blisse or elles to feede her bodye* (catchwords) *pat lastip* (incomplete). Edited Arnold iii.168-82 (from Oxford, New College 95). *IPMEP*[331].

Handwriting

The body of the text is written in a single textura hand, with some anglicana influence. The forms for 'y' and 'þ' are identical, although 'y' is sometimes distinguished by a dot. Abbreviations, e.g. of *a*, *ra*, *ur* and of *n*, are common. Headings and rubrics are written in a form of bastard anglicana and the forms for 'y' and 'þ' are distinct in this script.

Punctuation

The punctus and the punctus elevatus are used for medial pauses and 7-shaped positura for the end of a major section of text.

Correction

Both marginal and interlinear corrections occur but these are rare.

T: Trinity College, Dublin MS 245 (C.5.6.) s.xv¹

For previous descriptions see Abbott (1900), p.6; *EWS* ii.xxi-xxiii. I am grateful to Professor Scattergood for sending me material on this manuscript prepared for the forthcoming catalogue.

Technical description

Membrane, ff.iii+218+iii. Endleaves paper; first and last conjugate with pastedown. Modern foliation in ink (1-219) visible throughout, but 133 has been omitted and subsequent foliation corrected in pencil (September 1977). The corrected foliation has been used in the description which follows. The contents list on the second and third flyleaves, dated March 1936, is correct except in so far as it follows the old foliation. Size: 159 x 108mm. Written space: 119 x 77mm. Ruled in a single column of 32 lines. Pricking is visible at the outside

edges. Except for running titles, writing normally begins under the first ruled line.

Collation

1-8⁸, 9¹⁰, 10-27⁸. Quire and leaf signatures (a/i etc) appear on ff.9-12 only i.e. on the second quire. Catchwords appear in the usual places, except that there is no catchword on ff.8^v or on f.162^v.

Contents

1. ff.1^r-2^r [On the Apostles' Creed], headed *Crede*; inc. *It is soop þat bileue is grounde of alle vertues*; expl. *and euere lyue in blisse. Explicit credo in deum patrem*. Edited (i) Arnold, iii.114-16 (from Lambeth 408); (ii) *LFC* pp.14-18 (*ibid.*). *IPMEP* [403].
2. ff.2^r-3^v, margin *Pater Noster*; inc. *We shal bileue þat þis Pater Noster þat Crist hymself techiþ*; expl. *and þanne shal we haue euerlastyng fredom Amen. Explicit Pater Noster*. Edited (i) Arnold, iii.93-7 (from Bodl. Bodley 789); (ii) *LFC*, pp.7-11 (from Lambeth 408); (iii) *BVV* pp.337-9 (from BL Additional 17013). *IPMEP* [810].
3. ff.3^v-4^v, margin *Aue*; inc. *Men greten comounly oure lady Goddis moder*; expl. *and worshipe we Marie vp al oure myzt. Explicit salutatio Sancte Marie Virginis*. Edited (i) Arnold, iii.111-13 (from Bodl. Bodley 789); (ii) *LFC*, pp.11-14 (from Lambeth 408). *IPMEP* [455]

4. ff.4^v-6^v, margin *vij ɛresies*; inc. *For false men multiplien bokis of þe chirche*; expl. *but neiþer is þis bileue ne groumdid in resoun. Expliciunt vij hereses contra patrem nostrum*. Edited Arnold iii.441-6 (from Bodl. Douce 274). *IPMEP*[208].

ff.7^r-8^v are blank.

5. ff.9^r-26^v, Commentary on the Ten Commandments, edited here.

6. ff.27^r-30^v [*Of Faith, Hope and Charity*] headed *Feiþ*; inc. *For it is seid in holdyng of oure haliday*; expl. *he myȝt listly come to heuene and wite who wente amys. Expliciunt Feiþ, Hope and Charite*. Edited Matthew (1880, repr. 1973), pp.347-55 (from Oxford, New College 95, collated with this manuscript). *IPMEP* [595].

7. ff. 30^v-35^r, 35^r-38^r [*þe Seven Werkys of Mercy Bodyly and þe Seven Werkys of Mercy Gostly*]; inc.(i) *If a man were sure þat he shulde tomorewe come bifore a iuge*; expl. *And ellis, as me þinkip, vs failip rist to dymes. Expliciunt opera misericordie corporalis*; inc.(ii) *Sip we shulden serue oure parishens in spiritual almes*; expl. *as mede and nede and kynde techen Cristen men. Expliciunt opera caritatis etc*. Edited Arnold, iii.168-82 (from Oxford, New College 95). *IPMEP*[331].

8. ff.38^r-63^r [*Synne is for to Drede*]; inc. *Sip bileue techip vs þat euery yuel is oper synne*; expl. *for sharp veniaunce takip God of siche. Expliciunt septem peccata capitalia*. Edited Arnold iii.119-67 (from Bodl. Bodley 647). *IPMEP*[596].

9. ff.63^v-75^v [*Of þe Chirche and Hir Membris*]; inc. *Cristis Chirche is his spouse þat hap þre partis*; expl. *and þanne is his*

hizest vertu stablid. Explicit tractatus de ecclesia et membris eius. Edited Arnold iii.339-65 (from Bodl. Bodley 788). *IPMEP* [132].

10. ff.76^r-80^v, headed *De Apostasia Cleri*; inc. *Sib ilche Cristen man is holdon to sewe Crist*; expl. *þise cloþis ben of charite þat eueremore shal last and here is an ende. Explicit tractatus de apostasia et dotacione ecclesie.* Edited (i) Todd (1851), pp.lxxxi-cxii (from this manuscript; (ii) Arnold iii.430-40 (as in (i)). *IPMEP*[597]

11. ff.81^r-95^v [*Tractatus de Pseudo-Freris*]; inc. *For many beren heuy þat freris ben clepid pseudo*; expl. *turne to treuþe when it were tauzt. Amen. Explicit tractatus de pseudo-freris.* Edited Matthew (1880, repr. 1973), pp.296-324 (from this manuscript). *IPMEP*[210].

12. ff.96^r-101^r [*Vae Octuplex*]; inc. *Crist biddiþ vs be waar wiþ þes false prophetis*; expl. *and putte vs not in straunge perelis þat we han no nede to trete. Here enden þe eiste woous þat God wishid to freris. Amen.* Edited (i) Arnold, ii.379-89 (from Bodl. Bodley 788); (ii) *SEWW*, pp.75-83 (from BL Royal 18.B.IX); (iii) *EWS* ii.366-78 (from BL Additional 40672). *IPMEP*[127].

13. ff.101^r-116^v [*Of Mynistris in þe Chirche*], headed *Exposicio euangelij Mt.24 Egressus Ihesus de templo etc.*; inc. *þis gospcl telliþ myche wisdom*; expl. *but not rauyshe her hope in Crist. Explicit Euangelium.* Edited (i) Arnold, ii.393-423 (from Bodl. Bodley 788); (ii) *EWS* ii.328-65 (from BL Additional 40672). *IPMEP*[738].

14. ff.117^r-124^r, headed *Of Antecrist and his Meynee*; inc.

Dauid seiþ, 'Lord, sett þou a lawe-maker vpon hem; expl. Crist graunt vs grace þerto and heuen blisse. Amen. Edited Todd (1851), pp.cxv-cliv (from this manuscript). *IPMEP*[144].

15. ff.124^r-126^r [*On the Twenty-Five Articles*, item 15], headed *Of Antecristis songe in chirche; inc. Also prelati, prestis and freres putten on symple men; expl. lest we taken þe grace of God in veyne.* Edited Arnold, iii.479/24-482/36 (from Bodl. Douce 273). *IPMEP*[675].

16. ff.126^r-127^r [*On the Twenty-Five Articles*, item 19], headed *Of Praier a Tretys; inc. Also bischops and freres putten to pore men þat þei seyn; expl. bishops mayntenynge it opynly and stidfastly ben cursud heretikes. Explicit tractatus de orisone.* Edited Arnold, iii.486/25-488/36 (from Bodl. Douce 273). *IPMEP*[675].

17. ff.127^v-137^r [*Tractatus de Confessione et Penitentia*], headed *Nota de Confessione; inc. Two vertues ben in mannes soule; expl. so þei han no grounde in God. Explicit etc.* Edited Matthew (1880, repr. 1973), pp.327-45 (from this manuscript). *IPMEP*[790].

18. ff.137^v-143^v inc. *Crist forsoþe did al þat he couþe; expl. þou shepherde and ydele forsakyng þi flok etc.*

19. ff.144^r-145^v, headed *Nota de Sacramento Altaris; inc. Cristen mennes bileeue taust of Ihesu Crist; expl. and here sotile ypocrisize and fals heresye. Amen.* Edited SEWW, pp.110-12 (from this manuscript). *IPMEP*[131].

20. ff.145^v-151^r, inc. *Crisostom seiþ þat fischers and buystouse men; expl. God for his endles mercy to endure to þe last*

eende. Amen.

21. ff.151^r-153^v, inc. *Seynt Barnard spekiþ þus to Eugenyne þe Pope*; expl. *neyþur he may þe fredam of Goddis kunnyng fynde.*

22. ff.153^v-160^r, inc. *God moueþ Hooly Church bi many maner of spechis*; expl. *þou schalt haue þe blis of heuen etc.*

Amen.

23. ff.160^r-162^v, inc. *And for noþur man ne womman may parfitylly do þe seuen werkis*; expl. *ful of myzt in tyme of nede to strengþ his knyzt.*

24. ff. 163^r-217^r [*Apology for Lollard Doctrines*], rubric *Here are questiouns and ansueris pucte þat are writun hereaftir*; inc. *First I witnes bifor God almisty and alle trewe Cristun men*; expl. *and so I rede þes beggars do bityme and come to Crist. Amen. Amen.* Edited Todd, CS, 20 (1842) (from this manuscript). *IPMEP*[188].

25. f.217^{r-v}, inc. *Hit is writen in þe first book of holy writ*; expl. *To þis trinite joye and blis nowe and euer. Amen. etc.* (Jolliffe M.7).

26. ff. 217^v-218^r, inc. *Þeis ben þe nyne poyntis þat oure lord Ihesu answerid*; expl. *And þerfor loue God and þin euen Cristen for Goddis sake. Amen.* (Jolliffe I.12(n)).

27. f.218^{r-v}, inc. *Of þe dedis of mercy God will speke at þe dredful day*; expl. *lowly knowing hemsilf ærþe and powder sewid* (catchwords) *in charite.* (Incomplete).

Handwriting

The manuscript is written in a single anglicana hand with some slight secretary influence.

Punctuation

The punctus or punctus elevatus is used for a medial pause; a single virgule to mark the end of a period. For paraps see below.

Correction

Marginal corrections appear in black, occasionally underlined in red. A diple (") or single mark ('), very occasionally a caret mark, is used to indicate the relevant place in the text.

Decoration and Presentation

Red paraps precede explicits. Running titles are occasionally written in red but are normally black with red underlining and red touching of initial capitals. Within the body of the text, decorated capitals are usually blue with red decoration. Red chapter marks appear either as marginal apparatus or within the body of the text. Smaller chapter marks in black appear in the margin (apparently to indicate to the scribe where red chapter marks should be inserted; the latter are not always present). Biblical quotations are occasionally underlined in red and biblical references with red underlining appear in the margins.

Provenance

The manuscript was probably in the possession of Thomas Chamber in the sixteenth century (see above under *Handwriting*). Chamber, however, has not been identified. The manuscript was given to the University of Dublin library by Charles II.

Marginalia

There are sidenotes written in a tiny sixteenth century hand and *Note this Chapter*, same hand, larger writing on f.131^r, as well as occasional pointing hands in brown plummet (e.g. on f.66^v). The name *Thomas Chamber* is written upside down on f.210^v in a sixteenth or seventeenth century hand.

Binding

The binding is post-medieval. The manuscript was re-backed in 1947.

Y: York Minster MS XVI.L.12 s.xv med.

For previous descriptions see *IMEP* vi.49-54; *MMBL* iv.740-41.

Technical Description

Membrane ff.iii+87+ii. Endleaves paper. First endleaf conjugate with pastedown; this has been added since Ker's

description in *MMBL*. Modern foliation in ink: 1-59, 59*, 60-86. This foliation has been retained in the description which follows. Size: 183x123mm. Written space: 138x82-101mm. ff.51^r-69^v are ruled in a single column, the remainder in two columns. Quire 1 has 21-23 lines, ff.51^r-69^v 21-22 lines, the remainder 27 lines. Pricking is visible on the outside edges of quires 1, 2, 5-8 and 10, although some of this has been lost as a result of cropping. Writing normally begins under the first ruled line, unless there are headings.

Collation

1⁸ (3 and 6 are single leaves), 2-5⁸, 6-9¹⁰, 10⁸(wants 8 (cut out)).
Leaf signatures are visible on quire 7 only. Catchwords appear in the usual places.

Contents

1. ff.1^{ra}-27^{ra}, Commentary on the Ten Commandments, edited here.
2. ff.27^{ra}-32^{ra}, rubric and *bigynnep feip hope* and *charite*; inc. *For it is seid in holding of oure holiday*; expl. *he myzte listli come to heuene* and *wite who wente amys*. Edited Matthew, pp.347-65 (from Oxford, New College 95, collate with Dublin, Trinity College 245). *IPMEP* [595].
3. ff.32^{ra}-33^{vb}, Rubric *Here bigynnep þe Pater Noster* (the rubric on ff.32^v-33^r referring to the seven heresies against the Pater Noster refers to item [4], see *IMEP* p.50); inc. *We shal bileeue*

pat þis Pater Noster þat Crist himsilf techip; expl. and þan shal we haue euerlastinge fredom. So be it. Edited (i) Arnold iii.93-96/19 (from Bodl. Bodley 789); (ii) *LFC*, pp.7-11 (from Lambeth 408); (iii) *BVV* pp.337-9 (from BL Additional 17013). *IPMEP*[810].

4. ff.33^{vb}-36^{va}, [*Septem hereses Contra Septem Peticiones/Speculum vite Christiane*]; rubric *Here bigynneþ þe vij heresies on þe Pater Noster; inc. For fals men multiplien bookis of þe chirche; expl. neiþer þis is bileeue ne groundid in resoun.* Edited Arnold iii.441-6 (from Bodl. Douce 274). *IPMEP*[208].

5. ff.36^{vb}-37^{vb}, rubric *Here bigynneþ þe Aue Marie; inc. Men greten comynli oure ladi Goddis modir; expl. and worshiþe we Marie wiþ oure mist.* Edited (i) Arnold iii.111-13 (from Bodl. Bodley 789); (ii) *LFC*, pp.11-14 (from Lambeth 408). *IPMEP*[455].

6. ff.37^{vb}-39^{vb}, rubric *Here bigynneþ þe crede capitulum primum; inc. It is soþ þat bileeue; expl. and so euer lyue in blisse. Amen.* Edited (i) Arnold iii.114-16 (from Lambeth 408); (ii) *LFC*, pp.14-18 (*ibid.*). *IPMEP*[403].

7. ff.39^{vb}-46^{rb}, rubric *Here bigynneþ þe seuē werkis of merci bodili; inc. If a man were sure þat he shulde tomorewe come bifore a juge; expl. and ellis as me þenkeþ vs failiþ rist to dimes.* Edited Arnold iii.168-77 (from Oxford, New College 95). *IPMEP*[331].

8. ff.46^{rb}-50^{ra}, rubric *Here bigynneþ þe seuene goostly werkis; inc. Siþ we shulden serue oure parischens in spiritual almes;*

expl. *as meede and neede and kynde techip Cristene men.*

Edited Arnold iii.177-82 (from Oxford, New College 95).

IPMEP[331].

f.50^{rb} and f.50^v are blank.

9. ff.51^r-53^r, inc. *In þe bigynnyng God made of noust heuene and erþe*; expl. *þat he schulde make in werke. Heere eendit þe lessoun on Estir euen. Genesis 1:1-2:2 (LV) (MMBL iv.740).*

10. ff.53^r-57^v, rubric *Here bigynneth þe holi sacrament of baptym*; inc. *Alle Cristene soulis þat seen or heeren þis litill tretise*; expl. *we schullen be partyners of þe baptym of cristis passioun.*

11. ff.58^r-69^v, inc. *Listenes to me and 3e may heere*; expl. *bryng us into þe blis of heuen. Amen. Amen for charitee. God graunt þat it so mote be. Explicit ypotyse. IMEV*[220].

12. ff.70^{ra}-73^{vb}, rubric *Here begynneþ certeyn tretis drawen out of þe Bible*; inc. *The peple of Israel dwelled in deserte*; expl. *to whome þei liken in maneres. Tract on images.*

13. ff.73^{vb}-75^{vb}, inc. *[I] beleue in God, fader almy3ti*; expl. *synnes ben slayne and clensid oute of man bi þe deþe of Crist. Tract on the Creed.*

14. ff.75^{vb}-79^{vb}, inc. *Blessid be God almy3ti þe fader of oure lord Ihesu Crist*; expl. *or þanke men for þat þei do to hem for God seiþe* (catchword) *bi abacuk* (ends imperfectly).

15. ff.80^{ra}-86^{rb}, inc. (begins imperfectly) and *dwel in his loue. If ony man sey þat he louiþ God*; expl. *þat God or his lawe or his ordinaunce. Amen. Tract on the commandments.*

Handwriting

The text is written in three separate hands, changing at ff.51^r and 70^r (*MMBL* iv.741).

Punctuation

The colon is used with red colour touching in quires 1-6 and without colour touching in quire 7. Virgules are used throughout, with colour touching in quires 1-6 and without in quires 7-10. For paraps see below.

Decoration and Presentation

ff.1^r-50^r (i.e. quires 1-6) have running titles and rubrics in red, 2-line initials in red, red paraps, and chapter marks in red, either in the margin or in the body of the text. Marginal apparatus includes biblical references in red, instructions to the reader (e.g. *nota bene* f.16^v) boxed in red, and numbering (e.g. of the properties of charity f.31^{r-v}; some lost through cropping). No decoration occurs in quires 7 and 8. Red paraph marks, red rubric and a red initial occur of the first folio of quire 9 but otherwise quires 9 and 10 have no decoration. However, the places where red paraps should be inserted have been marked with a double virgule.

Correction

Correction is rare but deletion with correction in the margin

occurs on f.24^r, expunction and deletion on f.31^r and marginal correction with a red caret mark in the text on f.43^v.

Provenance

'C q^{to} 2' f.1^r is the number assigned by Marmaduke Fothergill d.1731., who bequeathed his books to the parishoners at Skipwith on condition that they built somewhere to house the collection. They failed to do so, and, in 1737, his widow gave the books to York Minster Library. Fothergill has annotated the bottom of f.1^r and (more extensively) f.86^v, suggesting parallels with Lyndwood's *Provinciale*. 'William Lylster owe thys bowke' appears in a sixteenth century hand on f.86^r.

Binding

The binding is post-medieval.

THE TEXTUAL TRADITION

The four manuscripts, B, H, T and Y, contain two overlapping, but nevertheless very different versions, one found in B and the other in H, T and Y. With the exception of the occasional phrase or line (usually additional material in H, see e.g. T6/4, T13/8) H, T and Y contain almost exactly the same material. B, while overlapping heavily with HTY, has lengthy sections of independent material (e.g. B4/8-5/22) and does not contain certain passages found in HTY (e.g. T98/6-100/18). The HTY commentary is divided into numbered chapters: the discussion of the commandments of the first table into chapters numbered one to twelve, and the discussion of those of the second table into chapters numbered one to sixteen. The first three chapter headings also appear in B.

Before discussing the relationships of the manuscripts in more detail, it will be useful to consider certain problems connected with the identification of error. The initial section of the prologue, which is common to both our versions, also appears as the prologue of the commandments commentary printed in Appendix I of *The Book of Vices and Virtues*. This commentary (henceforth referred to as DI) is extant in twenty-one manuscripts, the majority of which share this particular prologue. As will become clear when we come to discuss the relationships of the various commandments commentaries in greater detail, B at least must have had independent access to such a

commentary, and, in view of the evidence of its wide availability, the possibility of independent access by the H, T and Y scribes cannot be discounted. An example of a correction made in this section occurs in H (see T10/4) where the word *God*, omitted in the text, is added in the margin.¹ A similar problem arises with Biblical and other quotations, especially those of the commandments. Although references are minimal in both B and the HTY group,² earlier witnesses may have contained fuller references, making it possible for scribes to check and correct, while a scribe well versed in the Bible may well have been able to identify the source of a quotation even without such references. The wording of the commandments themselves, of course, would be particularly easy to check, and it is worth remembering that corrections of this kind could result in more accurate quotation than was present in the original.³

Further errors which a scribe could easily correct and which are therefore difficult to use as evidence of descent include errors of dittography, and certain errors of misreading

1. TY both have *God*, which is, however, not found in B (see B10/12).

2. B contains more references than HTY but these occur in sections drawn from other sources, notably DI.

3. See, for example, the discussion on this topic by Anne Hudson, *EWS* i.186-7.

where the context makes the error plain e.g. T69/5, H *world*, TY *word*; and B73/8, T73/9, Y *halewe*, BHT *traeile*.¹

Isolative Error

Each of the four manuscripts contains independent errors viz:

Errors in B:

- 1) Errors due to eyeskip: B50/4-5, cf. T50/4; B55/4-5, cf. T55/4; B73/2-4 (with consequent alteration of *stonden* to *wipstonde*), cf. T73/2-3; B82/9, cf. T82/10-83/1; B85/9-10, cf. T85/8-9; B132/5, cf. T132/10, with consequent alteration of *errour* to *eyper* (B132/6, T132/11).
- 2) Error due to misunderstanding of the meaning: B85/7-8, T85/7-8, B: *Pyn elde fader* and *elde moder bep pyn fadres* and *modres eldres*, cf. T: *pin elde fader* and *elde moder ben pi fer eldris* i.e. B appears to have misinterpreted *fer* as 'four', thus missing the point which is that your parents are your 'near' ancestors and your grandparents your 'far' ancestors.
- 3) Errors due to the replacement of a more difficult by an easier reading, or by misreading which is identifiable from the

1. Readings without error are given in the spelling of T, or, where T has the error, in the spelling of Y. Erroneous readings shared by two or more MSS are given in the spelling of the first MS cited.

context and from comparison with the other witnesses, but which could not easily be corrected: BT86/2, B *vpon*, HTY *opun*, with consequent addition of B *it*; BT102/2, B *many*, HTY *may*; BT118/1, B *flee fro*, HY *fle fer*; B126/7, T126/9, B *pat bep vnder* HTY *suget vnto*; BT151/7, B *eche 3er* HTY *eschete*; BT153/2, B *ynarke it to here lykyng*, TH *to marke it to her kychen*.

4) Error identifiable from the source: B81/4, T81/4, B *so plesynge*, HTY *plesyng*, source *valet*.¹

5) Error due to anticipation of a phrase found later in the text: BT86/9, B *Crist, God and man*, HTY *Crist* cf. BT87/2.

6) Omission by B of all chapter marks after the third.

In fact, the B scribe is clearly making use of two or more sources, a practice which occasionally causes him to repeat material. Thus, for instance, the passage on love and dread, with its image from St. Augustine of the bristle drawing in the thread, occurs first in B during the discussion of the first commandment (B15) and is then found jointly in all manuscripts (though in slightly different words) as part of the second (BT52). B also shows evidence of omitting material from his current exemplar in order to avoid such repetition. As part of his discussion of the first commandment, for instance, B has a passage on spiritual lechery (B41/15ff.) and he therefore omits any sixth commandment treatment of this topic with the

1. For the full quotation see below, note to possible HTY joint errors item 2.

comment that he has dealt with it earlier (B120/22-3). The relationship of B to one particular version (DI) will be dealt with in more detail below.

Errors in H:

- 1) Errors due to eyeskip: T11/2-4; T58/4-5; T58/10-59/1; T81/5; T97/7-9.
- 2) Error due to misunderstanding of the meaning: T58/9, H *sif þat he be trew*, BTY *if þat he be* cf. T58/4-5, where the point is that every man who *exists* bears God's name in his soul. The word *trew* however appears as a marginal emendation and it is therefore difficult to be certain exactly when it was added.
- 3) Errors due to the replacement of a more difficult by an easier reading or to misreading: T63/1, H *ourcomen*, BTY *vencushid*; T64/5, H *is* BTY *stondip in*; T100/3, H *for to do*, TY *fordo*; T101/8, H *say*, TY *supposen*; T139/3, H *be don* TY *be bedun*, cf. B *by byddyng*.
- 4) Error due to repetition of a word which has just been used: T48/6, H *see ne fele*, BTH *fee**le*; T70/8, H *restid*, BTY *lay*.
- 5) Errors due to anticipation of a word found later in the text: T50/4, H *sumdele*, TY *soundely*, cf. HTY *sumdel* 1.5; T61/8, H *falleþ*, BTY *failip*; T154/8, H *lede*, TY *teche*.
- 6) Errors resulting in defective syntax: T2/8, H *who*, BTY *for who*; T6/5, H *he*, BTY *as he*, with consequent H addition of *And*.
- 7) Errors involving unnecessary expansion: T1/2, H *men þat*

wullen be þe chiledren of Godde, BTY *men*, where H's addition provides an unnecessary qualification; T2/5, H *loued* and *thankide*, BTY *loued*, where H's addition obscures the emphasis on love on which the passage depends. For similar H additions see T6/4, T13/8, T30/1, T33/2, T50/5, T129/5.

8) Error due to grammatical confusion: T21/4, H *hestis*, BTY *heest*. This error is the result of confusion over the number of *þis* which H often uses as a plural.

9) Error resulting in the use of the wrong tense: T109/9, H *moueþ*, TY *moeuyde*.

10) Omission of various chapter marks, e.g. at T6/7, T72/3, T80/1.

Errors in T:

1) Errors due to eyeskip: T88/2; T135/3-4.

2) Error due to the replacement of a more difficult by an easier reading or to misreading: T104/2, T *listly*, HY *listlier*.

3) Error due to repetition of a word or construction recently used: T107/7, T *traitours*, BHY *tirauntis*, cf. *traitours* T107/1.

4) Errors resulting in defective syntax: T55/2, omission of BHY *or*; T109/17, omission of HY *zif*.

5) Error due to omission with consequent alteration: T118/1, T *for*, HY *fle fer*.

6) Omission of chapter mark 9 in the discussion of the commandments of the first table (T61/2), and chapter mark 3 in the discussion of the commandments of the second table (T98/5).

Errors in Y

- 1) Error due to eyeskip: T134/3-4.
- 2) Errors due to the replacement of a more difficult by an easier reading or to misreading: T87/5, Y *weren*, BHT *wenen*; T98/9-10, Y *ouercomyng*, HT *ouer comyn* (i.e. 'too common'); T108/2, Y *an yuel tente*, HT *annuel rent*; T140/3, Y *wilfulli* BHT *leuefully*; T147/7, Y *peple*, HT *Pope*; T149/9, Y *is moost*, BT *is waxen*, H *waxip*; T153/2, Y *make hem to þus richen*, HT *to marke it to her kychen*.
- 3) Errors resulting in alteration of the meaning, and thus in loss of the thread of the argument: T108/10, Y *but if it be doon in charite ellis*, HT *but bi þis irregularite*; T156/1, loss of *not*; T159/3, use of additional *sum*.
- 4) Errors causing problems with syntax: T21/4, Y *so as*, BHT *so þes*; T108/16, Y *and*, HT *Ant sip*.
- 5) Error due to mistaken interpretation of the meaning of a word: T155/2, Y *knowe* and *leue*, HT *leeue* i.e. Y has misinterpreted *leeue* as 'believe' rather than 'renounce' with consequent addition of *knowe*.
- 6) Error due to repetition of a term recently employed: T63/5, Y *strengþe* (i.e. a repetition of the preceding word), BHT *streyne*; T158/15, Y *fadris*, HT *eldris*.

Group Error

The question of group error is more complicated than that of individual error since the evidence is conflicting viz:

Possible BT joint error:

BT151/1, BT *contrarye*, HY *traytorie*, where the latter may seem the more difficult reading. (See, however, the note to this line).

Possible HY joint error:

BT68/8, the insertion of an unnecessary *of ye*.

Possible BY joint error:

BT58/9, BY *be* for HT *he*¹.

Possible BH joint errors:

1) BT3/2, BH *wel*, TY *wilfully*, where the point is that God wishes his commandments to be kept not 'well' but 'freely' (cf. BT3/1). However, this error could be coincident, especially if an earlier witness had *willi* for *wilfully*.

2) BT53/8, omission (twice) of TY *of yuel*. Although the source for this passage is not clear, the TY version corresponds to the form used in the discussions of various commentators.¹

However, even accepting that T and Y do have the original, coincident error seems possible, given that the construction of the sentence is awkward and the repetitions could be mistaken for dittography.

Possible TY joint errors:

1) BT2/3 omission of *more* (found in both B and H although the word order differs). Note, however, that correction from the DI source would be possible.

1. For possible sources see note to this line.

- 2) T88/6, TY *hem*, BH *him* (referring back to *fader*).
- 3) T134/1, TY *it*, BH *he*.
- 4) T121/4, TY *eche* not found in H. This may well be an echo of the passage which immediately precedes it (*Sip eche hedly synne* etc. T121/2), but it does not make sense in the context, since the discussion referred to (which begins, after a digression on chastity, at T122/5) concerns sin in general rather than individual sins.

Possible BHY joint errors

- 1) B6/5, T6/4, BHY *may*, T *may ay*.
- 2) BT54/9, BHY *grete*, T *greuouse*, where T appears to have the more difficult reading and BHY may well be repeating an adjective already used (see BT54/5).
- 3) BT84/3, BHY and *al onlyche he*, T and *also his neizbore*, where T's version appears to represent the more difficult reading. It is, however, worth remembering that the view that the love of God and the love of one's neighbour are interdependent was something of a commonplace, and it is therefore not impossible that T's version is a correction.

Possible HTY joint errors:

- 1) BT62/5, HTY *vtterli*, B *wytynglyche*.
- 2) Loss of references to a *gret(e clerk(e* (B81/2, B101/5).
Although the identity of the great clerk referred to in B101/5 is

unclear, the reference in B81/2 is plainly to Wyclif.¹

3) Error due to eyeskip: T95/6, cf. B95/12 (although it is possible that this could be repetition by B).

4) BT97/6-7, HTY omission of *men* with consequent alteration of *here* to *mennes*.

5) B104/4, T104/7, HTY *a*, B *eny*.

6) BT118/3, HTY *wysere*, B *holyer*. It seems likely that the original instruction to the reader (BT118/1-2) warned against placing too much trust in strength, or *holiness* or wisdom and that the B and HTY readings represent two later stages of development: an earlier stage, represented by B, where the first reference to holiness has been lost due to anticipation of the reference to wisdom, and a second stage, represented by HTY where the epithet 'holier' has been altered to conform with the earlier reference to 'wit'. However, the possibility of a correction by B cannot be ruled out.²

Possible BHTY joint errors (i.e. errors in the common ancestor):

1) BT135/5, all *byndip*, original possibly *blyndip*.

2) BT118/2, all *witt*, see above HTY errors item 6.

The evidence outlined above is clearly conflicting,

1. cf. *Sermones* ii.1/7-10: 'cum non valet festum vel devocio cuiuscunque sancti citra Dominum, nisi de quanto in eius devocionem supereminenter persona sollemnizans accenditur'.

2. For relevant quotations see note to this passage.

although it seems probable that the BY and HY groupings may be discounted. Of importance when considering the relationship of the HTY and B versions (and, in particular, whether the content of B's source corresponded to that of the HTY version or whether the HTY version might, for example, contain substantial additions not present in B's source) is the question of whether the HTY group shared a common ancestor which was not shared by B. Evidence for BH and BT joint errors (itself conflicting) argues against this as does the evidence for BHY joint errors. Evidence for these last three groupings is, however, quite weak compared to the evidence for HTY joint errors. If the HTY group did share a common ancestor not shared by B, this would raise the possibility that certain independent HTY passages not found in B might be later additions (i.e. not necessarily B omissions). The discussion of the fifth commandment contains two interesting passages which illustrate the type of questions this might raise:

B:	HTY:
And herfore men seyep þat men þat bep ykylled by mannes lawe bep noust slawe of men bot þe lawe sleyp hem <i>and</i> here yuele dedes.	And herfor <i>men</i> seien þat <i>men</i> þat <i>ben</i> slayn bi <i>mames</i> lawe <i>ben</i> not sleyn of men but þe lawe sleep <i>hem and</i> her yuel dedis. But wolde God þat þe puple wolde worshipe Goddis lawe <i>and</i> seie þat it were ful soop <i>and</i> iust in <i>hym</i> silf as þei supposen of <i>mames</i> lawe. Wipouten ony dout, þame shulden þei not be <i>contrarie</i> to <i>Crist</i> :

whame he seiþ þat þis breed is
myn owne body þei reuersen him *and*
seien þat þis may neþer be breed
ne þe body of Crist, as false freris
gabben. But leue we þis now *and*
speke we of þis maundement,

Bot what seiþ a grete clerke?
Suppose we, he seiþ, by oure
feyþ, þat God byddep þus: þat
we scholde kille no man
wiþoute auctorite of him.

(B101-2)

and suppose we bi oure
feyþ þat God biddip þus: þat
we shulden sle no man
wiþoute autorite of him.

(T101-2)

B
And so, as me þenkeþ, no man scholde
kille oþer by auctorite of þe
lawe bot yf he were sykere þat
Godes lawe bad it, *and* þanne myzte
he ywyte þat he brake nouȝt
Godes heste al yf he kyllede
him ne fel nouȝt fro charite
syþ boþe loue *and* sorwe scholde
meue hem to do so *and* nouȝt his
owene vengeance. *And* þus as me
þenkeþ, a man may kille anoþer
as men clepeþ hangemen *and*
hederys of mannes lawe. *And* þus
Godes lawe spekeþ, wham we
scholde lyue.

HTY:
And so, as me þynkeþ, no man shulde
sle oþer bi autorite of þe
lawe but if he were siker þat
Goddis lawe bad it; *and* þanne myzte
he wite þat he brak not
Goddis heest al if he slouȝ
him ne fel not fro charite.
siþ boþe loue *and* sorowe shulde
moeue him to do so *and* not his
owne veniaunce. *And* þus, as me
þynkeþ, a man may kille anoþer,
as men clepen hangmen *and*
hederis in mannes lawe. *And* þus
Goddis lawe spekiþ whiche we
shulden trowe. *And* þus men supposen
þat bi londis lawe is no man sleyn but
if God bidde it, for þei supposen
þat þis is Goddis lawe. But it is
wonder to men hou in mony londis men
ben sleyn for a trespas, *and* for a myche
more þei ben not punyshid so. but oþer

For of þis lawe we bep
certeyne þat it byddeþ nouȝt
kylle a man bot yf it be
resoun *and* graciouse *and*
profetable yf he takeþ it wel,
so þat it were betere him to
be kyllid so þan for to lyue
forþe vnpunesched

(B102-4)

passen fre or ben listl[ier] punyshid: bi
money as men vsen. But we *ben* not sett
to rist siche lawes.

But of Goddis lawe *ben* we ful
certeyn þat it biddiþ not
sle a man but if it be
resoun *and* gracious *and*
profitable if he take it wel,
so þat *him* were betere þus to
be sleyn þan to lyue
forþ vnpunyshid

(T102-4)

In both the above passages, it seems clear that the independent HTY material is an addition. The irrelevance of the additional material to the topic under discussion is clearer in the first extract than in the second, but even in the second it is plain that the HTY discussion of the punishments employed in various lands and their possible unfairness interrupts the general flow of the argument, which is concerned with the responsibility of the executioner. Moreover, in both cases, the transition back to the original material (*But leue we this now... But we ben not sett...*) is abrupt enough to reveal the join. Whether B then redeleted these passages is more difficult to determine. It is easy to imagine, especially in the case of the first passage, that the views expressed were considered too extreme to be included. On the other hand, as far as the first extract is concerned, it does seem at least possible that B's references to *a grete clerke* were present in an earlier witness but were then lost

in the HTY tradition as part of the process of making the transition back from the interpolated material to the original.

That the HTY group shared a common ancestor not shared by B thus seems at least a possibility, while the tendency for BH and TY to agree suggests the further possibility of a relationship between T and Y. However, the conflicting evidence makes it difficult to be absolutely certain of the textual tradition and may, perhaps, suggest contamination.

Choice of Base Manuscript for the HTY version

The uncertainty over textual relationships precludes selecting the base manuscript on these grounds, and, since the dialect of the original is unclear, it is not possible to select a copy text on this basis either. Moreover, given the nature of the material, the assumption that the original is bound to be 'better' than its descendants, especially where the 'errors' of such descendants consist of deliberate alterations, is of doubtful validity. In general, T seems to be the most suitable candidate for use as a base text. Its dialect is consistent and thus presents few difficulties for the reader, and it contains few errors which result in loss of sense.

THE LANGUAGE

Abbreviations Used

EME	Early Middle English
ME	Middle English
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
NE	New (i.e. Modern) English
OA	Old Anglian
OE	Old English
OK	Old Kentish
OI	Old Icelandic
WS	West Saxon
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
n.	noun
pa.t.	past tense
pl.	plural
pp.	past participle
pr.	present
pr.p.	present participle
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
v.	verb
<i>Atlas</i>	A. McIntosh, M.L. Samuels and M. Benskin, <i>A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English</i> , 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986).

In the following description of the language of the manuscripts, the line references are to the first occurrence of a given form. When a form occurs only rarely, more references may be given.

Harvard MS English 738

The main points of interest in sounds and forms are as follows:

A In reflexes of OE stressed vowels:

1) OE *y* appears as *i/y* as in *king* (f.1^r/12; T1/10), *mynde* (f.2^r/11; T7/5) but occasionally as *u* in *churche* (f.5^r/12; T33/8) beside *chirche* (f.2^r/8; T7/2). *Euel* (f.5^r/5; T33/2) beside *yuelle* (f.7^r/9; T53/6) and *iuelle* (f.16^r/6; T101/6) reflects EME lengthening in open syllables. NE 'worse' appears as *worse* (f.11^r/6; T72/8) beside, once, *wrse* (f.11^v/9; T75/2). NE 'work' v. appears with *i/y* and with *o* as in *wirchip* (f.20^r/11; T121/16), *wyrche* (inf.) (f.2^v/4; T12/2), *worche* (inf.) (f.9^v/16; T67/1). NE 'worship' (n. and v.) normally appears with *i/y* but also with *o*: *wyrschip* (f.2^r/7; T7/1), *wirschip* (f.11^r/12; T73/5), *worchipt* (f.1^r/18; T2/4). Forms in *wur-* occur, as in *wurse* (f.11^v/7; T75/1) and *wurschipe* (f.8^r/12-13; T60/6), but these are expansions and, as no *wur-* forms occur without abbreviation, it is difficult to be certain of their status. *wur-* forms with abbreviation are not recorded by the *Atlas*. OE *þyncan* 'to seem' appears with medial *-e-* as in *thenkis* (f.5^r/2; T32/1), presumably because of confusion with the verb 'to think'. OE *ȝ* appears as *i* as in *litill* (f.1^v/19; T4/7), but once as *ie* in *fier* (f.19^v/8; T118/5) beside *fire*

(f.22^r/12; T129/11).

2) OE *i* normally appears as *i*, as in *biddyngs* (f.1^r/3; T1/2) but sometimes as *y*, as in *myght* (f.2^r/6; T6/9). OE *micel/mycel* appears as *miche* (f.11^v/6; T74/9) but more commonly as *myche* (f.2^r/1; see T6/4 and apparatus). The vowel in *weke* n. (f.10^r/6; T68/5) cf. OE *wice* is due to lowering associated with EME lengthening in open syllables. OE *ī* appears as *i/y*, as in *lyf* (f.1^r/13; T1/11), *life* (f.1^v/15; T4/3).

3) OE *e* appears as *e*, as in *men* (f.1^r/1; T1/2). OE *eġ* appears as *ey* as in *weye* (f.5^v/8; see T34/13 and apparatus) and as *ay* in *way* (f.28^r/18; T154/9). OE *ē* appears as *e* in *kepe* (f.1^r/7; T1/6). OA *ēg* by smoothing appears as *y3-* in *y3en* (f.4^r/6; T22/2), but also once as *e3-*: *e3en* (f.5^r/23; T34/8).

4) OE *æ* appears as *a* in *badde* (f.1^r/6; T1/5), and as the first component of the digraph *ay* in *day* (f.5^r/23; T34/7). OE *ǣ* appears as *e* as in *teche* (f.2^r/4; T6/8) but as *ee* in *heet* (f.28^r/10; T154/3). NE 'flesh' appears as *flesche* (f.4^r/5; T22/2). OE *ǣ* plus shortening appears as *e* in *ledde* (f.3^r/20; T15/5), but as *a* in *lastid* (f.10^v/13; T71/3) and *any* (f.1^r/15; T2/2) beside one example of *ony* (f.13^v/17; T86/9).

5) OE *a* appears as *a* in *asse* (f.28^r/7; T153/10). OE *a* followed by a nasal appears as *a* as in *roman* (f.1^r/4; T1/3). *grauen* (f.3^r/6; T14/6) and *name* (f.6^v/3; T50/8) have EME lengthening. OE *ā* generally appears as *o* as in *more* (f.1^r/15; T2/1), but as *oo* in *goo* (f.11^r/21; T74/2). LOE *ā* from *a* before lengthening groups generally appears as *o* as in *stonden* (f.4^r/5; T22/1) but also as *a* as in *hande* (f.3^r/7; T14/6). Retracted OA *a* plus lengthening group appears as *o* as in

holde (f.1^r/2; T1/2). *asked* (f.1^r/5; T1/4) has LOE shortening.

6) OE *o* appears as *o* as in *godde* (f.1^r/2; see T1/2 and apparatus).

OE *og* appears as *-ow* in *bowes* (f.9^r/8; T64/3). OE *ō* normally appears as *o* as in *do* (f.1^r/6; T1/4) but occasionally as *u* in *gude* (f.1^v/20; T4/8).

7) OE *u* usually appears as *u*, as in *cum* (f.1^r/6; T1/5). Forms such as *woke* (f.10^r/22; T69/9) cf. WS and OA *wucu* and *loued* (f.1^v/20; T2/5) display lowering associated with EME lengthening in open syllables. Note also *loue* n. (f.5^r/14; T34/1) beside *luf* (f.2^r/14; T10/3&4) and *loue* v.inf. (f.4^r/12; T23/5) beside *luf* (f.2^r/17; T11/1). *w* sometimes appears for *u* or *wu* as in *wnderstand* (f.7^r/18; T54/4) and *wlt* (f.7^v/2; T54/10). *founden* (f.1^v/18; T4/5) reflects LOE lengthening. OE *ū* appears as *-ow* as in *howe* (f.1^r/5; T1/4), but also as *ou* as in *hou* (f.4^v/17; T30/8).

8) OE *eo* appears as *e* as in *heuen* (f.1^r/6; T1/5). OE *ēo* appears as *e* as in *Prestes* (f.2^r/4; T6/8) and in *trew* (f.5^v/7; see T 34/13 and apparatus), *treu* (f.20^r/22; T122/8) beside *trw* (f.7^r/7; T53/3), *tru* (f.22^r/21; see T130/2 and apparatus), but as *ee* in *weede* (f.25^v/12; T144/5).

9) OE *ea* appears as *a* as in *alle* (f.1^r/1; T1/2). *ea* before lengthening group appears as *e* in *selde* (f.24^r/16; T136/1) cf. WS and K *sealde*. OE *ēa* appears as *e* as in *grete* (f.1^v/6; T3/3).

B In reflexes of certain OE consonants:

1) The form for 'þ', representing OE *þ* is the same as the form for

'y'.¹ The symbol for 'y' is often distinguished by a dot, but this is by no means invariable and the dot occasionally appears where the symbol clearly means 'p' as in *þise* 'these' (f.2^r/9; T7/4). The form is *þ*-like rather than *y*-like. 'p' and 'y' have been distinguished in transcription except where use is made of evidence drawn from the *Atlas* which transcribes all such symbols as *y*. The reflex of OE *þ* is most frequently represented by this symbol as in *þ* (f.1^r/1; see T1/2 and apparatus), but also by *th* as in *wythouten* (f.1^r/3; T1/3). Forms in *þh* also occur: *þhre* (f.4^r/4&5; T22/1).

- 2) OE *hw*- appears as *wh*- as in *what* (f.1^r/5; T1/4).
- 3) OE *sc*- appears as *sch*- as in *schulden* (f.1^r/2; T1/2).
- 4) OE palatal *c* appears as *ch* as in *chirche* (f.2^r/8; T7/2) but as *k* in *reken* (f.4^r/3; T21/9) and *seken* (f.18^v/7; T110/9).
- 5) OE *-ht* normally appears as *-3t* as in *no3t* (f.2^r/23; T11/8) but often, in the earlier part of the text, as *-ght* as in *noght* (f.1^v/7; T3/4).
- 6) OE initial *f* appears as *f* as in *for* (f.1^r/6; T1/4).
- 7) OE initial palatal *g* appears as *3* as in *3euen* (f.8^v/7; T62/2) but, in the early part of the text, often as *g* as in *gif* (f.1^v/8; T3/5)
- 8) The *ax*- of OE *axian* appears most commonly as *ask*- as in *asked* (f.1^r/5; T1/4) but note also *axis* (f.6^v/16; T51/9) and, once, *aschep* (f.14^r/7; T88/2).
- 9) Metathesis of *r* does not occur, hence NE 'bird', 'third' and 'burn' appear as *briddis* pl. (f.7^v/23-f.8^r/1; T59/5), *thridde* (f.3^r/10; T14/10), and *bren* (f.18^r/8; T109/6).

1. This is not true, however, of the script used in H for headings etc., in which the forms for 'p' and 'y' are clearly distinguished.

C The use which the H scribe makes of final *-e* shows no consistent pattern. Final *-e* appears in places where it would not historically be expected, for example on singular indefinite adjectives such as *grete* (f.1^v/6; T3/3), in the reflexes of OE masculine and neuter nouns without ending such as *godde* (f.1^v/2; see T1/2 and apparatus) and *worde* (f.1^v/21; T2/6), and on the singular preterites of strong verbs such as *gafe* (f.2^r/15; T10/4).

Unetymological *-e* is occasionally added to existing inflexions. Thus we find plural nouns ending in *-ise* and *-ese* as in *partise* (f.9^v/12; T64/7), *trese* (f.21^v/11; T127/4), past participles of weak verbs ending in *-ide* and *-ede* as in *thankide* (f.1^r/20; see T2/5 and apparatus), *chargedede* (f.3^r/14; T15/1), and the third person singular present indicative ending in *-þe/-ethe/-ythe* as in *thinkþe* (f.12^r/11; T80/8), *liethe* (f.11^v/6; T74/8), *wonnythe* (f.13^r/4; T83/5)

On the other hand, final *-e* does not necessarily appear where it might historically be expected. Final *-e* does not appear in the possessive plural of *his* (f.1^v/3; T3/1), and forms of NE 'these' occur both with and without final *-e* as in *þ's* (f.1^r/8; T1/6), *þise* (f.2^r/9; T7/4). Nouns whose etymology would lead you to expect final *-e* do not always employ it consistently. Thus we find *end* (f.1^v/16; T4/4) beside *ende* (f.1^v/20; T4/8) and *law* (f.5^v/17; T48/1) beside *lawe* (f.2^r/16; T10/5).

D Other points of accident include:

- 1) In nouns, the plural endings are usually *-is/-es* as in *Iewis* (f.1^r/8; T1/7), *sensures* (f.1^r/23; T2/8), although forms in *-s* and occasionally *-ys* or *-us* (by abbreviation) also occur: *biddyngs* (f.1^r/3; T1/2), *wittys* (f.6^r/19; see T50/3 and apparatus), *biddingus* (f.1^r/23; T2/7). There is one example of an *-ez* ending: *clothez* (f.13^r/1; T83/2). Plural forms with additional final *-e* have been dealt with above. There are still a few plurals in *-en*: *breperen* (f.17^v/22; T108/14), *eæn* (f.5^r/23; T34/8¹) and also *housen* (f.26^v/8; T147/15) beside *houses* (f.25^v/7; T144/1). The possessive forms of the noun ends in *-is/-es/-s*: *goddis* (f.1^r/2; T1/2), *goddes* (f.6^v/20; T52/4), *mans* (f.3^r/6; T14/6).
- 2) The pronoun system is less regular than in T (see below). Of interest are first person singular *I* (f.2^r/9; T7/2); second person singular *p^u* (f.1^r/22, T2/7), *pow* (f.3^r/4; T14/5), and *pou* (f.3^r/5; T14/6); third person singular *he* (f.1^r/5; T1/4), *sche* (f.27^r/11; T149/9), and *hit* (f.4^r/9; T23/3) beside the usual *it* (f.1^r/8; T3/5). As we have already seen, both the singular and plural forms of NE 'his' appear as *his*, while the oblique case of the feminine singular pronoun appears as *hir* (f.19^r/20; T115/3). The third person plural pronoun appears as *pai* (f.1^r/14; T1/11) with or without abbreviation, with *pei* (f.15^v/6; T100/2) and *paie* (f.22^v/6; T130/9) each occurring once. NE 'their' and 'them' occur both with initial *p-* and with initial *h-*, as in *per* (f.1^r/13; T1/11), *p^eire* (f.2^v/19; T13/6), *peir* (f.3^v/11; T20/5), *pair* (f.5^r/6; T33/3), *her* (f.2^r/6; T6/9), *here* (f.9^r/22; T65/6), *pem* (f.1^r/4; T1/3), *hem* (f.3^r/11; T14/10). NE 'our' appears as *oure*

(f.1^v/15; T4/4) and *ouur* (f.1^v/15; T4/3). NE 'your' normally appears with initial *3-* as in *3oure* (f.7^r/5; T53/1), *3ouur* (f.7^r/8; see T53/4 and apparatus), but once with initial *y-*: *your* (f.10^r/8; see T68/6 and apparatus).

3) In verbs, third person singular present indicative endings in the first six folios are usually *-es/-is*, with occasional *-s* or *-ys*: *telles* (f.1^r/5; T1/4), *techis* (f.1^r/14; T2/1), *stondys* (f.2^r/13; T10/3), *asks* (f.4^r/19; T24/6). The first instance of an ending in *-th* or *-þ* is *knowyth* (f.7^r/21; T54/6). From this point onwards, the endings are generally *-ip/-ep*, with occasional forms in *-þe* or *-th*: *puttip* (f.7^v/8; T57/2), *fayleþ* (f.7^v/19; T58/10), *bidþe* (f.16^r/3; T101/3) and *knowyth* quoted above. Forms with additional *-e* have been dealt with above. Occasional forms in *-es/-is* do, however, occur in the later section of the text as in *charges* (f.13^r/3; T83/4). There is one form in *-ez*: *synnez* (f.17^r/9; T105/9). Present plural endings are most commonly *-en* with occasional *-in/yn*: *wullen* (f.1^r/1; see T1/2 and apparatus), *plesin* (f.3^v/23; T21/6), *makyn* (f.4^r/8; T23/2). Occasionally the *-n* is missing, as in *se* (f.2^v/11; T12/7).¹ The third singular present form of

1. It seems unlikely that either *clepip* (f.16^v/7) or *streccheþ* (f.23^v/2) can be taken to indicate that *-þ* endings for plural verbs were part of the dialect either of the H scribe or of his exemplar. The subject of *streccheþ* ('errors') is singular in all other witnesses and seems likely to be a mistake on the part of the H scribe who then went on to copy the singular form of the verb correctly. This is not the case with *clepip* but it seems at least possible that this may have been attracted into the singular because of the influence of the preceding verb, especially since the clauses (*as me þenkeþ* and *as men clepip*) are similar.

the verb 'to be' appears as *is* (f.1^r/15; T2/1) and the plural form as *ben* (f.1^r/22; T2/7) or *be* (f.1^v/13; T4/2). The present participle ends in -*yng/-ing*: *walking* (f.5^r/21; T34/6), *knowyng* (f.6^r/8; T49/2). In weak past participles the endings are generally -*id/-ed*: *saued* (f.1^r/4; T1/3), *forfendid* (f.4^v/21; T30/12). Forms with additional -*e* have been dealt with above. The usual inflexion of the past participle of strong verbs is -*en* as in *beden* (f.1^v/5; T3/3), but there are isolated forms in -*e*, -*on* and -*yn*: *take* (f.9^r/21; T65/6), *bedon* (f.9^v/13; T66/8), *vnknowyn* (f.24^r/17-18; T136/3). The *y-* prefix does not appear.

4) The adverbial ending is -*ly/-li*: *trewly* (f.1^r/10; T1/8), *freli* (f.1^v/3; T3/1).

Dialects of the Scribe and his Exemplar

It is noticeable that certain changes in the language occur in the course of the text, the most striking being the sudden change in the form of the third person singular verb endings. If this were accompanied by similar sudden changes in other aspects of the language, it would be natural to assume a change in the scribe's exemplar. Other changes in dialect are, however, more gradual. Thus, in the first part of the text, the dominant form for NE 'them' is *þem*, although occasional forms in *hem* occur from f.3^r onwards. The proportion of *hem* instances gradually increases, however, as the text progresses, so that by the end *hem* is the dominant form, although forms in *þem* still occur. Forms for NE 'their' show a similar, if less extreme, development, in that the first five folios of the text contain

eleven examples with initial *p*- and only one with initial *h*-, while the last five folios contain eleven with initial *p*- and eight with initial *h*-. Other items which occur in the early part of the text but not in the later include *suche* (f.2^v/9; T12/5) for NE 'such', later *siche* (f.3^v/14; T20/7) and *sen* (f.1^v/22; T6/3) for NE 'since', later *sip* (f.8^v/19; T61/3). Forms such as *gude/gode/goode* and the changes from *g* to *ʒ* and from *-ght* to *-ʒt* have been dealt with above. *schullen* pl.v. with final *-n* (f.15^v/17; see T100/11 and apparatus) appears only in the later part of the text. It seems likely that these changes have been caused by progressive translation¹ and that the extent to which forms found in the exemplar were retained may reflect the degree to which they were present in the scribe's own dialect. The nature of the changes already discussed suggests that the scribe was copying from an exemplar written in a more northerly dialect than his own. The fact that *suche* occurs in the early part of the text but not in the later may seem to argue against this, but it is clear from the *Atlas* that this form occurred as far north as Yorkshire (*Atlas* i map 70, iv item 10). Forms such as *luf* alongside *loue* and *gif* alongside *ʒiue* (see above) support the hypothesis of a northern exemplar. On the other hand, the occurrence of a comparatively southern form such as *wullen* in the first line suggests that the scribe's adherence to his exemplar may not have been absolute even at the very beginning of his transcription.

Assuming that the forms which are consistently used throughout the text, as well as those which appear only, or more frequently, in

1. On progressive translation, see *Atlas* i.16.

the later sections, belong to the scribe's own dialect, this dialect can be identified as Midland. The reflexion of OE *ā* and OE *ō* in *o/oo* together with the use of forms in *h* for NE 'them' and 'their', and the inflexion of the third person singular in *-þ* rules out the north, while the use of the *-en* ending for the third person plural and the absence of the *y*- prefix for the past participle suggests that the south is unlikely. The reflexion of OE *a* plus nasal in *a*, the use of *sche* for the third singular feminine pronoun, and unrounding of *ēo* and the reflexion of OE *ȳ* in *i* further suggests that a West Midlands origin is unlikely.

Before we look more closely at the information contained in the *Atlas*, it will be useful to consider the forms for 'þ' and 'y' as they have been mapped by Benskin.¹ As has already been stated, the H scribe uses a single symbol for 'þ' and 'y'. As the use of this single symbol persists throughout the text (and, indeed, throughout the manuscript) it seems clear that it must reflect the practice of the H scribe himself, whether or not it also appeared in his exemplar. As the map provided by Benskin shows,² this use of a single symbol characterised the writing of scribes from Scotland and from England north of a line running roughly from the southern edge of the Wash to the Mersey, together with parts of Norfolk, Suffolk, Ely, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Rutland, Huntingdonshire and certain areas of Essex. It therefore seems likely that the H scribe

1. Benskin, M., 'The letters <þ> and <y> in later Middle English, and some related matters', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 7 (1982), 13-30.

2. *Ibid.* p.15.

came from one of these areas.

In the following discussion of the evidence provided by the *Atlas* (and in this discussion only) this symbol has been transcribed as *y*, whether it represents 'y' or 'p'. This is in accordance with the practice followed by the *Atlas*, and reflects the fact that the resulting distinction between e.g. *yai* and *pai* (both NE 'they') is significant when considering the place of origin of the manuscript.

Assuming once more that forms which are used consistently and forms to which the scribe turns in the course of the text belonged to the scribe's own dialect, the *Atlas* indicates the following:

The occurrence of *yai* for NE 'they' suggests that Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, together with the Eastern halves of Norfolk and Suffolk are unlikely (*Atlas* i map 31). The persistent occurrence of forms for NE 'these' with medial *-ei-* together with the occurrence, towards the end of the text, of plural forms of NE 'shall' ending in *-en* suggests an area South of a line running eastwards from the Wash and further suggests that Rutland is unlikely (*Atlas* i maps 6 and 151). The area under consideration now comprises south Lincolnshire, Ely, Soke, the west side of Norfolk and Suffolk, possibly Cambridgeshire, and certain sections of Essex.

Turning to the item maps, we find that the occurrence of *yeis(e)* and *yai* suggests that Essex and Cambridge are unlikely (*Atlas* ii, items 2 and 7). The occurrence of forms for NE 'will' with medial *-u-* (if we accept that these belong to the scribe's own dialect rather than to that of his exemplar) suggests that, of the remaining area, south Ely is a strong possibility (*Atlas* ii, item 24). It is worth noting that the plural form *wullen* (f.1^r/1; see T1/2 and apparatus) is not recorded

much further north than this, although it is recorded further to the west (*Atlas* iv, item 24). On the other hand, the text does contain a cluster of forms which, within this area, are only recorded for south Lincolnshire: *saiy* for NE 'says' (f.10^r.2; T68/1), *seeeye* 'sees' (f.13^r/18; T84/8), *seuenye* 'seventh' (f.9^v/22; T67/7), *summ* 'some' (f.30^r/12; T159/2¹), *yride* 'third' (f.6^r/15; T49/9), and most noticeably, because it occurs so often, *sij* 'since' (*Atlas* iv, items 210, 211, 220, 237, and 39). An area between south Lincolnshire and south Ely therefore seems a strong possibility. The use of *selde* for NE 'sold' pa.t.sg. might perhaps suggest that such a placement is too far north, but the *Atlas* does record instances of *held(e)* for NE 'hold' in both Ely and Norfolk (*Atlas* iv.314).

It is difficult to be certain as to the dialect of H's exemplar. However, the combination of *yem* for NE 'them' with *churche* (*Atlas* i maps 43 and 386), neither of which appears to be part of the H scribe's dialect, suggests the southern half of the West Riding of Yorkshire or Derbyshire, while the occurrence of *worche* v. (*Atlas* i map 315) suggests that the West Riding is the more likely. It is worth noting that *lau* 'law' (f.16^v/10; T103/9) is only recorded for the West Riding of Yorkshire, that *aer* 'air' (f.8^r/1; T59/5) is recorded only for the North and West Ridings and for Northumberland, while *stren3* 'strength' n. (f.19^v/3; T118/2) is recorded only for York (*Atlas* iv, items 164, 69, and 42).

Trinity College, Dublin MS 245

The principle points of interest in accidence and in the reflection of OE sounds in spelling are as follows:

A Reflexes of OE stressed vowels

1) OE *y* appears as *y/i* as in *kyng* (T1/10) and *chirche* (T7/2).

OE *ȳ* appears as *i* in *triste* (T3/8) but as *ie* in *fīer* (T118/5).

2) OE *i* appears as *i/y* as in *biddyngis* (T1/2). OE *mycel/mīcel* normally appears as *myche* (T12/7), but there is one example of *miche* (T80/12). OE *ī* normally appears as *i/y*, as in *wisely* (T2/9), *tyme* (T4/3), but also as *ij* as in *lijf* (T1/11).

3) OE *e* appears as *e*, as in *men* (T1/2), but as *i* between *g* and *d* in *togidre* (T15/3). The *ee* of *eende* (T13/1), beside *ende* (T4/4), perhaps reflects an earlier spelling showing LOE lengthening. OE *ē* appears as *e* as in *kepe* (T1/6). OA *ēg* by smoothing appears as *y3* in *y3en* (T22/2).

4) OE *æ* generally appears as *a* as in *bad* (T1/5) and in the first component of the digraph *ay* as in *day* (T34/7). OE *ǣ* appears as *e* as in *teche* (T6/8), but also, though less frequently, as *ee* as in *heestis* (T10/2). Before *sh* OE *ǣ* appears as *ei* in *fleish* (T22/2). OE *ǣ* with shortening sometimes appears as *a*, as in *lastide* (T71/3), but also as *e*, as in *lesse* (T34/1). OE *ǣ* with shortening appears as *o* in *ony* (T2/2). *late* (T96/7) shows Scandinavian influence, cf. OI *lāta*.

- 5) OE *a* appears as *a* in *asse* (T153/10). OE *a* followed by a nasal appears as *a* as in *man* (T1/3). *name* (T50/8) and *grauen* (T14/6) have EME lengthening. OE *ā* appears as *o/oo* as in *more* (T2/1), *woot* (T2/4). LOE *ā* from *a* before lengthening groups appears as *o* as in *lond* (T14/4). Retracted OA *a* plus lengthening group appears as *o* as in *holde* (T1/2). *axide* (T1/4) shows LOE shortening.
- 6) OE *o* appears as *o* as in *goddis* (T1/2) and in *world* (T13/1) (OE *woruld* but cf. also OE *weoruld*). OE *og* appears as *ow* in *bowes* (T64/3). OE *ō* appears as *o/oo* as in *do* (T1/4), *good* (T11/7).
- 7) OE *u* appears as *u* as in *kunned* (T2/4), but is spelt as *o* before a nasal in *tonge* (T54/10). Forms in *o* occurring in words such as *loue* (T10/3) and *woke* (T68/5) (cf. WS and OA *wucu*) reflect lowering associated with EME lengthening in open syllables. OE *wur* appears as *wor* as in *worship* (T13/4). *ground* (T64/5), *doumbe* (T100/8), and *founden* (T4/5) reflect LOE lengthening, but cf. *bunden* (T80/9). OE *ū* normally appears as *ou* as in *hou* (T1/4) but as *ow* in *Now* (T24/4).
- 8) OE *eo* appears as *e* as in *heuene* (T1/5). OE *ēo* generally appears as *e* as in *Prestis* (T6/8) but as *ee* in *weed* (T144/5). The *o* of *fourþe* (T14/10) reflects a rising diphthong.
- 9) OE *ea* generally appears as *a* as in *alle* (T1/2). The OE combination *eax*, however, appears as *ex* in *wexen* (T156/15). OE *ēa* appears as *e/ee* as in *greet* (T3/3) and *dep* (T4/5). WS *ea* plus lengthening group appears as *e* in *telden* (T106/7).

B Reflexes of OE consonants

- 1) OE *hw-* appears as *wh-* as in *what* (T1/4).
- 2) OE initial *sc-* generally appears as *sh-* as in *shulden* (T1/2), but once as *sc-*: *sculdest* (T124/5).
- 3) OE *ht* appears as *zt* as in *list* (T4/2).
- 4) OE *axian* appears with initial *ax-* as in *axide* (T1/4).
- 5) Metathesis of *r* does not occur, hence NE 'bird', 'third' and 'burn' appear as *briddis* (pl.) (T59/5), *pridde* (T14/10) and *brenne* (T109/6).
- 6) OE palatal *g* normally appears as *ȝ* as in *ȝyue* (T3/5), but consistently as *sh* in *she* 'indeed' (T10/1). *forȝete* (T3/4) beside *forȝete* (T49/2) shows Scandinavian influence cf. OI *geta*.
- 7) OE initial *f* appears as *f* as in *for* (T1/2).
- 8) OE *ċ* appears as *ch* as in *chirche* (T7/2).

C The Use of Final -e

The T scribe's use of final *-e* suggests that this ending still had some meaning. There is, for instance, evidence for its use as a plural inflexion in adjectives. Thus we find *foule* (pl.) (T23/3) beside *foul* (sg.) (T147/6). Such agreement does not, however, occur when the adjective in question is being used as a complement, thus *hard* (pl.) (T138/1) and even when the adjective immediately precedes its noun the use of final *-e* is not invariable, thus *deed* (pl.) (T100/14). The possessive pronoun 'his' normally has final *-e* in the plural but not in the singular, thus *hise* (T1/10), *his* (sg.) (T2/6) but note *his* (pl.) (T4/1) and *hise* (sg.)

(T110/16). There is little evidence for the use of *-e* as a definite inflexion. Singular definite adjectives such as *greet* (T4/2) and *good* (T11/7) occur without inflexion, while the use of final *-e* in such traditional phrases as *þe olde testament* (T31/1) and *þe olde lawe* (T48/1) may well represent a petrified rather than a functional form.

With a few exceptions, final *-e* is not normally extended to forms which would not historically have employed it, and the scribe is not normally inconsistent. However, the OE feminine noun *bliss* appears both with and without final *-e* as in *blisse* (T1/6) and *bliss* (T3/8), while the OE neuter noun *lim* appears as *lyme* (T61/5) (this latter, however, sometimes appears in OE with a feminine adjective). OE *willa* appears twice as *will* (T12/6 and T49/9) beside the more usual *wille* (T59/7) but, since it is not the T scribe's usual practice to end a word with double *l*, it seems likely that the former are errors. *badde* (pa.t.sg.) (T152/8) beside the usual *bad* (T1/5) appears to show confusion with weak verbs while the final *-e* of *bare* (pa.t.sg.) (T85/7) is the result of an expansion. It is worth noting that the preterite of the NE verb 'to make' appears consistently as *made* (T67/7) while the past participle appears as *maad* (T31/2).

D Other Points of Accidence

1) In nouns, the plural endings vary between *-es* and *-is* with *-is* somewhat more common; thus *biddynghis* (T1/2), *iewes* (T1/7). A

similar pattern is followed by the possessive form, thus *kyngis* (T2/7), *mannes* (T14/6). There are still a few plurals in *-en*: *briþeren* (T108/14), *yʒen* (T22/2).

2) The pronoun system is regular viz. singular pronouns: first person normally *y* (T7/2) but twice *I* (T14/3 and T75/4); second person normally *pou* (T2/7), sometimes *p^u* (T14/6), once *pow* (T123/8); third person *he* (T1/4), *she* (T149/9), and *it* (T3/5). NE 'her' oblique appears as *hir* (T115/3). The third person plural appears as *pei* (T13/5), oblique *hem* (T1/3), possessive *her* (T13/6).

3) In verbs, third present singular endings are *-ip/-ep* as in *tellip* (T1/4), *techeþ* (T2/1) with occasional *-yp*: *makyp* (T20/6). Present plural verbs end in *-en* as in *kepen* (T1/7), but occasionally in *-e* as in *synne* (T34/2). *is* (T2/1) is the third present singular form of the verb 'to be' and *ben* (T2/7) the plural. The present participle ending appears as *-ing* or *-yng* in *walking* (T34/6) and *shynyng* (T98/9). In weak past participles, the ending is *-id* or *-ed* as in *saued* (T1/3), *worshipid* (T2/4). Strong past participles most commonly end in *-un*, less commonly in *-en* as in *bedun* (T3/3), *founden* (T4/5). The *y-* prefix does not appear. Infinitives occur with final *-e* but without final *-n*, as in *holde* (T1/2). A possible inflected infinitive occurs in *to bitokene* (T72/2), although, given the date of the manuscript, this may seem unlikely.

Dialect

Traditional methods of dialect analysis suggest the Southern

half of the Central Midlands. The Midlands is suggested by a combination of features. The reflexion of OE *ā* in *o/oo* together with regular verbal endings of the third person singular present in -*ep/-ip* and present participle endings in -*yng/-ing* rule out the North, while present plural verb endings in -*en*, together with the absence of the *y*- prefix in past participles suggests the Midlands rather than the South. The overall absence of notably Northern or Southern features suggests the central rather than the extreme North or South of the Midlands area, although the continued use of final -*e* suggests the South rather than the North of this region. The use of *she* for the third singular feminine pronoun, together with the reflexion of OE *a/o* plus nasal in *a*, the unrounding of *ēo* and the reflexion of OE *ȳ* in *i/y* further suggests that a West Midlands origin is unlikely.

Use of the *Atlas* also suggests the Central Midlands, for the following reasons:

That the Northernmost limit for this text is unlikely to be North of the Wash is established by the occurrence of *eche* (T15/10), *fleish* (T22/2) and *hooli* (T20/3) (*Atlas* i Maps 86, 420 and 807). The occurrence of *al if* for NE 'though' (T98/2), in conjunction with *lijf* (T1/11) and *fier* (T118/5) (*Atlas* i Maps 191, 1163, and 410) suggests the Northern section of the remaining area. The Central rather than the Eastern or Western section of this area is suggested by the distribution of *al if* and of *worche* (T64/7) (*Atlas* i Map 315). The area under consideration now consists of the Northern part of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, the

Southern half of Leicestershire, Soke, Rutland, Huntingdonshire and, possibly, Ely.

Moving on to the item maps, the occurrence of *siche* (T12/5) and *myche* (T12/7) suggests that a placement in the more Western and Northern of these counties including Warwickshire, Leicester, Rutland and the North West section of Northamptonshire is unlikely, though not impossible (*Atlas* ii, items 10 and 16). The combination of *fier*, *seie* (T53/1), *sip* (T4/2), *wolen* with final *-n* (T97/3) and *yzen* appears to rule out much of the northern part of the area including north Warwickshire, much of Northamptonshire, Rutland and Soke (*Atlas* ii, items 124, 210, 39, 24 and 115), while the use of medial *-o-* in *wolen* together with *yzen* makes Ely seem unlikely (*Atlas* ii, items 24 and 115). Much of the Northern and Eastern section of the area appears to be ruled out by the occurrence *pousend/pousynd* (*Atlas* ii, item 236).

Thus the most likely location appears to be Huntingdonshire. It is true that Huntingdonshire does not show evidence of *shal* (pl.) (T4/4), but occurrences of this item are, in any case, sporadic for this region and examples occur in several surrounding counties i.e. in Cambridgeshire, Ely and Northamptonshire (*Atlas* ii, item 22). *shal* occurs in Huntingdonshire on the border with Northamptonshire and forms with *sh* for 'sh' are current throughout the county. If we consider the remainder of the material on the questionnaire, only a very few items do not occur in this area. The infinitive *wite* (T13/2) is not recorded for Huntingdonshire, but only one example of this verb (viz. *wyte*) is recorded for this county, while *wite* is recorded for the neighbouring counties of

Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire (*Atlas* iv item 257). Forms in *seiz-* for the plural verb 'saw' (T13/6) are not recorded except for Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire and Hertfordshire, and forms in *sien* (T34/5) occur sporadically over a wide area from Kent to Salop with *sie* occurring in Leicestershire, *sy* in Rutland and *sien* near the Huntingdonshire border in Cambridgeshire (*Atlas* iv item 211). *breþeren* (T107/5), which occurs once beside the usual *briþeren* (T108/14), is not recorded for Huntingdonshire, but occurs (with or without abbreviation) in the surrounding counties of Ely, Northamptonshire, Soke and Cambridgeshire (*Atlas* iv item 87), and the same is true of *zyuen* (*Atlas* iv item 137). *pepule* (T126/9) occurs only once beside the usual *puple* (T6/9) and the rarity of this form (it is recorded only three times: in Northamptonshire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire) makes it difficult to establish any definite boundaries (*Atlas* iv item 203). There are occasional traces of a more northerly dialect, whether that of the scribe or that of his exemplar. Note, for example, *callyng* (T110/6) beside the more usual forms in *clep-* (T20/7) and *seuent* (T123/4) beside *seuenþe* (T67/1), although both these are also recorded for counties adjacent to Huntingdonshire (*Atlas* iv items 93 and 214). It is worth bearing in mind that *seuent* occurs as part of a heading introducing the seventh commandment i.e. in a section of the text which may not have appeared in the T scribe's exemplar, and it therefore seems possible that such forms were part of the T scribe's own dialect.

York Minster MS XVI.L.12

The following are the main points of interest in sounds and forms:

A. In reflexes of OE stressed vowels:

1. OE *y* appears as *i*, *y* as in *king* (f.1^{rb}/4; T1/10), *mynde* (f.2^{rb}/18; T7/5). OE *swylc* appears with medial *i* as in *sich* (f.3^{ra}/9; T12/5) in the earlier part of the text, but later mainly with medial *u* as in *such* (f.11^{va}/3; T73/1). For NE 'much' see A.2 below. NE 'worse', 'work' v. and 'worship' n. and v. appear consistently with *o* as in *worche* (f.2^{vb}/21; T12/2), *worse* (f.11^{vb}/19; T75/1), *worschip* n. (f.2^{rb}/10; T7/1). OE *ȳ* appears as *i* as in *litil* (f.2^{ra}/10; T4/7) but as *ie* in *fier* (f.18^{va}/11; T118/5) beside *fire* (f.20^{va}/5; T129/11).
2. OE *i* appears most commonly as *i* as in *biddings* (f.1^{ra}/5-6; T1/2) but as *y* in *knyztis* (f.9^{rb}/17; T62/2). NE 'if' (OE *gif*, *gef*) appears as *if* (f.1^{ra}/13; T1/5). OE *micel*, *mycel* appears commonly with medial *-i-* as in *miche* (f.3^{ra}/12; T12/7) but more commonly, especially in the later part of the text, with *-y-* as in *myche* (f.10^{vb}/10; T69/3). OE *ī* appears as *i* as in *wiseli* (f.1^{va}/12; T2/9), but occasionally as *y* next to minims as in *tyme* (f.2^{ra}/2; T4/3) beside *time* (f.2^{ra}/6; T4/5). OE *ī* also appears as *ij* in *lijf* (f.1^{rb}/7; T1/11) and *wijf* (f.24^{vb}/19; T153/9), and occasionally in other words: *sijknessis* (f.17^{va}/3; T109/12) and *wijser* (f.18^{va}/7; see T118/3 and apparatus).
3. OE *e* generally appears as *e* as in *men* (f.1^{ra}/4; T1/2). However, between *g* and a dental and *r* and a dental *e* appears as *i*

in *togidere* (f.3^{va}/21; T15/3), *briperen* (f.16^{vb}/17; T107/5). *latten* (f.11^{va}/3; T73/2) (pr.pl.), beside more usual *letten* (f.3^{rb}/7; T13/7) with *e* due to i-mutation, may reflect the occasional OE restoration of *æ* before consonant groups or may show the influence of the adjective.¹ *eende* (f.2^{ra}/3; T4/4) beside less usual *ende* (f.8^{va}/12; T58/10) reflects an earlier pronunciation with lengthening before consonant groups. OE *ē* generally appears as *e* as in *kepe* (f.1^{ra}/15; T1/6), occasionally as *ee* as in *meede* (f.1^{va}/18; T3/2). OA *ēg* by smoothing appears as *iz* in *izen* (f.4^{rb}/22; T22/2).

4. OE *æ* appears as *a* as in *bad* (f.1^{ra}/13; T1/5) and in the first component of the digraph *ay/ai* (OE *æg*) as in *may* (f.1^{ra}/7; T1/3). Assuming that the double *aa* of *staaf* (f.3^{vb}/3; T15/5) indicates a long vowel, it must reflect the levelling of the vowel of the inflected forms to the uninflected. OE *ǣ* appears as *e/ee* as in *techip* (f.1^{rb}/11; T2/1), *heestis* (f.1^{vb}/7; see T3/6 and apparatus) but as *ei* before *sch* in *fleisch* (f.4^{rb}/21; T22/2) beside *fleshe* (f.18^{va}/18; T118/8). OE *ǣ* plus shortening appears as *e* as in *ledde* pa.t. (f.3^{rb}/16; T14/3), *lefte* (f.5^{va}/21; T33/9), *lesse* (f.5^{vb}/2; T34/1), *led* pp. (f.18^{vb}/24; T121/13), but also as *a* as in *lad* pp. (f.3^{vb}/4; T15/5), *lasse* (f.17^{rb}/24; T109/9). NE 'any' appears as *ony* (f.1^{rb}/12; T2/2).

5. OE *a* appears as *a* in *asse* (f.24^{vb}/21; T153/10). OE *a* followed by a nasal appears as *a* as in *man* (f.1^{ra}/8; T1/3). *grauen* (f.3^{rb}/22; T14/6) and *name* (f.7^{ra}/7; T50/8) have EME lengthening.

1. For the occasional restoration of *æ* in this position in OE see Campbell p.76 § 194.

OE *a* before lengthening groups generally appears as *o* as in *stondip* (f.2^{va}/3-4; T10/3), but once as *a* in *handis* (f.21^{ra}/15; T131/7). Retracted OA *a* plus lengthening group appears as *o* as in *holde* (f.1^{ra}/5; T1/2). OE *ā* appears as *o/oo* as in *more* (f.1^{rb}/12; T2/1), *woot* (f.1^{rb}/20; T2/4).

6. OE *o* appears as *o* as in *goddis* (f.1^{ra}/5; T1/2), but once as *oo* in *croos* (f.6^{rb}/7; T47/6). OE *og* appears as *ow* as in *bowis* (f.9^{vb}/8-9; T64/3). OE *ō* appears as *o, oo* as in *do* (f.1^{ra}/11; T1/4), *good* (f.2^{ra}/12; T4/8).

7. OE *u* normally appears as *u*, as in *ful* (f.1^{vb}/20; T4/2). Forms such as *loued* (f.1^{va}/1; T2/5) and *woke* (f.10^{va}/18; T68/5) display lowering associated with EME lengthening in open syllables. *founden* (f.2^{ra}/7-8; T4/5) reflects LOE lengthening. OE *ū* normally appears as *ou* as in *foule* (f.4^{va}/7; T23/3) but as *ow* in *now* (f.4^{va}/21; T24/4) and in *howe* (f.1^{ra}/9-10; T1/4) beside more usual *hou* (f.3^{rb}/6; T13/6).

8. OE *eo* appears as *e* as in *heuene* (f.1^{ra}/12; T1/5). OE *ēo* generally appears as *e*, occasionally *ee*, as in *Prestis* (f.2^{rb}/4-5; T6/8), *feend* (f.4^{vb}/19; T26/1¹). The vowel of *fille* (f.24^{va}/6; T151/6) beside *fel* (f.16^{ra}/5; T103/3) both pa.t.sg. is due to EME shortening. Note also *trube* (f.6^{ra}/13; T34/13) beside (once each) *troupe* (f.8^{ra}/21; T55/2) and *treupe* (f.17^{rb}/19; T109/7). *tries* ('trees') (f.20^{ra}/18; T127/4) is not recorded by the NED before the sixteenth century and may be an error.

9. OE *ea* commonly appears as *a* as in *Alle* (f.1^{ra}/3; T1/2), but as *e* before *x* in *wexen* (f.25^{vb}/8; T156/15). WS and K *ea* plus lengthening appears as *ee* in *teelden* (f.16^{vb}/3; T106/7). OE *ēa*

appears most commonly as *ee* as in *greet* (f.1^{va}/20; T3/3) but also as *e* in *fewe* (f.16^{vb}/13; see T107/3 and apparatus).

B. In reflexes of certain OE consonants:

1. OE *hw-* appears as *wh-* as in *what* (f.1^{ra}/10; T1/4).
2. OE *sc* appears as *sch*, *sh* as in *schulden* (f.1^{ra}/4; T1/2), *shalt* (f.3^{va}/3; T14/7), the former appearing more frequently in the earlier part of the text.
3. OE *-ht* appears as *-ȝt* as in *list* (f.1^{vb}/19; T4/2).
4. OE palatal *ċ* normally appears as *ch* as in *techip* (f.1^{rb}/11; T2/1), but as *k* in *rekene* (f.4^{rb}/16; T21/9).
5. OE palatal *ġ* appears as *ȝ* as in *forȝete* (f.1^{vb}/4; T3/4).
6. OE *axian* appears with initial *ax-* as in *axide* (f.1^{ra}/10; T1/4).
7. Metathesis of *r* does not occur, hence NE 'bird', 'third' and 'burn' appear as *briddis* pl. (f.8^{vb}/2; T59/5), *bridde* (f.3^{va}/8; T14/10), *brend* pp. (f.18^{va}/10; T118/5).

C. Use of final *-e*.

Final *-e* does not appear on the possessive *his* pl. (f.1^{rb}/6; T1/10) but does appear in *pese* (f.1^{rb}/3; T1/9) beside more usual *pes* (f.5^{va}/10; T33/4), the former being more common in the earlier part of the text. Final *-e* is sometimes extended to forms which would not historically have employed it as in *songe* n. (f.24^{ra}/10; T148/10) and *souȝte* pp. (f.16^{vb}/12; T107/2) but this is unusual. The distinction between the preterite and past participle of the verb 'to make' is maintained, as in *maad* pp. (f.5^{rb}/18; T31/2), *maade* pa.t. (f.10^{rb}/27; T67/6). Residual traces of the definite inflexion

may be found in phrases such as *þe olde lawe* (f.6^{rb}/10; T48/1) and *þe firste maundement* (f.7^{ra}/1; T50/5), but the lack of inflexion in phrases such as *oure good god* (f.2^{vb}/9; T11/7) and *þe first table* (f.2^{va}/10-11; T10/5) suggests that the definite inflexion, where it occurs, is probably a petrified rather than a functional form. As far as the plural is concerned, NE 'all' normally appears as *alle* when qualifying plural (or notionally plural) nouns and as *al* in the singular: *Alle maner of men* (f.1^{ra}/3; T1/2), *alle sectis* (f.1^{ra}/18; T1/7), *al synne* (f.4^{rb}/3; T21/3). However, final -e does not necessarily appear as a plural inflexion in other adjectives. Thus, *deed stokkis* (f.5^{va}/15; T33/6-7), and *þese greet swerers* (f.8^{ra}/5-6; T54/5) beside *þese greete glotouns* (f.4^{va}/3-4; T23/2).

D. Other points of accident include:

1. In nouns, the plural ending is usually -is, though -es (usually, but not invariably, following a vowel), -s, and (once) -ys also occur: *biddingis* (f.1^{ra}/5-6; T1/2), *enemies* (f.2^{ra}/13; T6/1), *gynnes* (f.10^{rb}/2-3; T66/4), *resouns* (f.2^{vb}/5; T11/5), *almys* (f.24^{va}/24; T152/6). The possessive forms follow a similar pattern, -is being the usual form with -es and -ys both occurring occasionally: *goddis* (f.1^{ra}/5; T1/2), *mannes* (f.3^{rb}/23; T14/6), *mannys* (f.16^{rb}/12; T104/8). There is one example of a -us ending: *menmus* (f.19^{vb}/9; T124/14), but this is the result of an expansion and it is therefore difficult to be certain of its status. No such ending occurs without abbreviation. There are still a few plurals in -en: *briþeren* (f.17^{rb}/1; T108/14), *iþen* (f.4^{rb}/22; T22/2).
2. As far as the pronoun system is concerned the following items

are of interest: *I* (f.2^{rb}/14; T7/2), *his* sg. (f.1^{va}/3; T2/6¹) and *his* pl. (f.1^{rb}/6; T1/10), *sche* (f.24^{rb}/4; T149/9), *she* (f.24^{rb}/8; T150/2), *it* (f.4^{va}/6; T23/3). NE 'they' appears consistently as *pei* (f.1^{rb}/9; T1/11), 'their' as *per* (f.1^{rb}/7; T1/11), occasionally *her* (f.4^{va}/8; T23/2²), once *ther* (f.21^{ra}/2; T131/1), 'them' consistently as *hem/hem* (f.1^{ra}/7; T1/3).

3. In verbs, third singular present endings appear commonly as -*ep*, but more frequently as -*ip*: *louep* (f.1^{va}/2; T2/6), *tellip* (f.1^{ra}/9; T1/4). -*t* occurs occasionally and -*th* and -*it* once each: *knowt* (f.6^{ra}/20; T47/2), *lith* (f.11^{vb}/16; T74/8), *kepit* (f.25^{va}/23; T156/10¹). Present plural endings are most commonly -*en*/-*en* as in *kepen* (f.1^{ra}/17; T1/7), with -*e* occurring occasionally: *blemische* (f.10^{vb}/18; T69/7). Endings in -*ep*/-*ip* occur very occasionally throughout the text, thus *meeneb* (f.4^{ra}/7-8; T20/4), *lettib* (f.11^{va}/9; T73/4), *kepiþ* (f.25^{vb}/23; T157/5). The third singular present form of the verb 'to be' is *is* (f.1^{rb}/12; T2/1) and the present plural *ben/ben* (f.1^{va}/6; T2/7), once *be* (f.17^{ra}/20; T108/9). The present participle ends in -*inge*, -*yng/yng*, -*ing*: *walkinge* (f.5^{vb}/14-15; T34/6), *knowyng* (f.6^{va}/14-15; T49/2), *plesing* (f.12^{va}/3; T81/4). In weak past participles the ending is usually -*id*, less frequently -*ed*, but -*ide* and -*de* endings also occur: *partid* (f.2^{rb}/19; T7/5), *saued* (f.2^{ra}/5-6; T4/5), *lokide* (f.15^{rb}/23; T100/15), *fedde* (f.18^{va}/18; T118/8). Strong past participles generally end in -*en/en* as in *boden* (f.1^{va}/20; T3/3), with occasional forms in -*e*: *knowe* (f.6^{rb}/5-6; T47/6). The *y*- prefix does not appear.

Dialect

Traditional dialect analysis suggests that the scribe came from the South East Midlands. The reflex of both OE *ā* and OE *ō* in *o/oo* together with the third singular ending in *-iþ/-eþ* rules out both the North and the North East Midlands. The use of *-en* as the plural verb ending together with the absence of the *y-* past participle prefix rules out the South,¹ while the reflex of OE *a* plus nasal in *a* together with the use of *sche/she* as the third person singular feminine pronoun suggests that the West Midlands is unlikely.

Evidence provided by the *Atlas* is as follows:

A combination of *zouen* pp. (f.1^{vb}/21; T4/3), *ech* (f.3^{vb}/15; T15/10) and *wher* ('whether') (f.4^{rb}/9; T21/6) (*Atlas* i maps 432, 86 and 571) suggests an area south of the Wash with the occurrence of *wher* further suggesting that the most northerly and central of the remaining counties, i.e. north Warwickshire and Leicestershire, are unlikely. The use of forms in *worch-* for the verb 'to work', together with the occurrence of *lijf* further suggests that much of East Anglia is unlikely (*Atlas* i maps 315, 819, and 1163). The occurrence of *lijf* suggests an area north of the Thames-Severn line (*Atlas* i map 1163), while the occurrence of *al if* for 'though' (f.13^{rb}/26; see T86/1 and apparatus) suggests the northern part of the remaining area, i.e. south Warwickshire, Staffordshire,

1. The form *teelden* for NE 'told' pl. might appear to suggest the South but it is worth noting that the *Atlas* records forms of 'hold' with medial *-e-* as far north as Norfolk, Cambridge and Ely (*Atlas* iv.314).

Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Ely, Soke, Rutland or Cambridge (*Atlas* i map 191).

Turning to the item maps, we find that the use of *per* for 'their' suggests that Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Worcestershire are unlikely, and that, of the counties remaining, Northamptonshire and Soke seem most probable (*Atlas* ii, item 9). The regular use of *silf* for 'self' (f.1^{rb}/16; T2/3), beside two examples of *self* (f.11^{vb}/23 and f.14^{ra}/11; T75/2 and T95/2), together with the use of *ech*, further reinforces this hypothesis (*Atlas* ii, items 213 and 12). On the other hand, an origin in Huntingdonshire rather than Northamptonshire is suggested by the use of *wher* for 'whether' and of *izen* (*Atlas* ii, items 251 and 115).

The area which accounts for the largest number of forms seems to be somewhere near the Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire border, i.e. in the area containing linguistic profile locations 55, 754, 461, 518, 9480, 8160, 4276, 762, 562 (*Atlas* ii.387-8, see also grid references pp.375-379). The vast majority of items not recorded for this area take the form of abbreviations (or, occasionally, the lack of them). Thus *myn* is recorded, but not *myn* (*Atlas* iv, item 181), *zoure* but not *zoure* or *zoure* (*Atlas* iv, item 263), *shulden* but not *shulden* (*Atlas* iv, item 23), *wolen* but not *wolcn* (*Atlas* iv, item 24), *azen* but not *azen* (*Atlas* iv, item 36), *whan* but not *whan* (*Atlas* iv, item 55), *heuen* but not *heuen* (*Atlas* iv, item 145). It does not seem likely that the occurrence of any of these unrecorded forms rules out the suggested area. *myn* may not be recorded but *pin* is (*Atlas* iv, item 233). *shulden* may not be recorded, but we find *schulden* beside *schulden* and *shulden* (*Atlas*

iv, item 23).

Certain items are not recorded in any of the *Atlas*'s linguistic profiles and therefore provide no evidence. Thus *goddis* for 'goods' (f.9^{vb}/7; T64/2), *eiper...ellis* for 'either...or' (f.7^{vb}/11-12; T53/7-8), *eerþe* for 'earth' (f.10^{rb}/27; T67/6). Certain items are not recorded in any great numbers, i.e. they do not occur very often in the texts which supply the linguistic profiles on which the *Atlas* is based, and it is therefore not surprising that they are not recorded for this particular area. Thus only fourteen instances of 'worldly', Y *worldli* (f.3^{rb}/1-2; T13/4), are recorded for the whole of the country and none at all for the area we are considering (*Atlas* iv, item 48). 'strengthen' v. Y *strengþe* (f.9^{va}/19; possibly an error: see T63/5), 'busy' v. Y *bisie* (f.12^{vb}/3; T82/4), 'can' v.pl. Y *can* (f.3^{va}/17; T15/1), 'gave' v.pl. Y *3af* (f.24^{vb}/3; T153/1), are all likewise recorded in small numbers (*Atlas* iv, items 42, 90, 95, and 137). Forms for 'week', which appears in Y as *woke* (f.10^{va}/18; T68/5) are somewhat more plentiful, but nevertheless no form of this noun is recorded for any of the linguistic profiles which we are considering, although *woke* is recorded for the surrounding area (*Atlas* iv, item 246).

It is worth noting that forms from the MSS which provide the linguistic profiles for the more northerly sections of Bedfordshire i.e. numbers 9480 and 8160 are not recorded where the items in question have been collected only for the northern corpus.¹ Thus

1. For northern survey points see *Atlas* i.568 map 2b and compare with map 3b.

-ide (weak pp.) is not recorded for our area, but is recorded in the linguistic profile of the most northerly of the Bedfordshire MSS used for the northern corpus viz. LP 749 (*Atlas* iv, item 63), and the same is true of *ȝeue* ('give') (f.1^{vb}/5; T3/5), and *mai* v.pl. (f.1^{rb}/1; T1/8) (*Atlas* iv, items 137 and 176).

A certain number of forms are recorded just outside our area e.g. *mani* (f.4^{ra}/12; T20/6), *n'* (f.3^{ra}/13; T12/8), *-it* (third person singular verb ending) (*Atlas* iv, items 13, 45, 59). The distribution of other forms suggests that their occurrence in the area we are considering would not be unexpected. Thus *lityl* (f.8^{ra}/16; T54/10) occurs in none of the counties we are considering, but does occur in Cambridgeshire, Ely, Lincolnshire and Warwickshire (*Atlas* iv, item 170).

aweie (f.23^{ra}/22; T144/6) is recorded only twice, in Buckinghamshire and Warwickshire, but, given the distribution of the forms *aweye* and *awei* its existence in the area under consideration seems not unlikely (*Atlas* iv, item 76). *worsse* (f.23^{va}/25; T147/8), though an unusual form, is recorded over a wide area from Essex and Gloucestershire to Leicestershire (*Atlas* iv, item 259).

The possibilities of progressive translation or of a *Mischsprache* warrant consideration. Some evidence for progressive translation can be drawn from the fact that the forms used for certain words alter during the course of the text. Thus, NE 'say' v. appears both with medial *a* as in *saied* (f.3^{rb}/13; T14/2) and with medial *e* as in *seip* (f.1^{va}/1; T2/5) but the forms with medial *a* are found only in the earliest part of the text. We have

already noted similar changes in the forms for NE 'much', 'these' and 'such' and in the use of *sch* and *sh*. The possibility of a *Mischsprache* is suggested by the large number of variants and also by the occurrence of a number of forms which are more common further north than in the area under consideration, and which might, perhaps, be seen as suggesting that the Y scribe was drawing on a more northerly exemplar e.g. *praie* (f.11^{vb}/3; T74/3), *felaw* (f.18^{ra}/5; T113/6) to 'two' (f.20^{ra}/2; T126/7) and forms of 'without' with initial *w^t* (f.6^{va}/13; T49/1) (*Atlas* iv, items 205, 119, 242, 258). It should be pointed out, however, that, while the change in the form of the verb 'to say' supports the hypothesis of a more northerly exemplar, changes from *bes* to *pese*, from forms of 'much' with medial *i* to forms with medial *y*, and from forms of 'such' with medial *i* to forms with medial *u* tend to suggest the opposite (*Atlas* ii, 210, 2, 16 and 10). Since, in fact, all the forms in question occur within the general, if not the immediate, area under consideration, the hypotheses of progressive translation or of a *Mischsprache* remain unproven.¹

1. For discussion of progressive translation, see *Atlas* i.15 section 3.3.2. For discussion of *Mischsprachen* see *Atlas* i.19ff. section 3.5. Section 3.5.1. deals with the various possible reasons for a large number of variants, not all of which imply a *Mischsprache*.

BL Harley 2398

As BL MS Harley 2398 (B) has already been located by the compilers of the *Atlas* on the Gloucestershire/Herefordshire border, a placement which is supported by the reference within the manuscript to Mitcheldean (f.192^v), it is unnecessary to discuss it further here. For B's linguistic profile see *Atlas* ii.148, LP 7200, and for its location see *Atlas* iv.337 grid reference 365 218.

That three of our witnesses should appear to come from the East Midlands and one from the Herefordshire/Gloucestershire border, is scarcely surprising given the Lollard overtones of our texts. Lollard activity in the East Midlands is well documented and the implication of local Lollards in the Oldcastle rebellion has been dealt with in detail by McFarlane, while a comprehensive account of Lollardy in the Midlands after this period is provided by Thomson.¹ That some of the forms found in H suggest an exemplar with origins north of Derbyshire, possibly in the West Riding, is somewhat more surprising, since northern records reveal little evidence of heresy, although Richard Wyche and William Thorpe both spent time in the North and an expurgated version of the English sermon cycle appears to have been written just north of Richmond.² It should also be remembered that one of the Lollard

1. See McFarlane (1952), p.157 ff., Thomson (1965), p.95ff.

2. See Thomson (1965), p.192ff., Hudson, *PR*, pp.126-7.

knights, Sir William Neville, came from a county Durham family.¹ As far as the Herefordshire/Gloucestershire border is concerned, Lollards were preaching in the Severn valley before the end of the fourteenth century, Bristol being a notable Lollard centre, while Oldcastle himself came from Herefordshire.² Thomas Higon of Woolaston and Micheldean was tried by Mayer in 1511 and did penance for his offences in both Hereford and Micheldean.³

It is worth noting that these localisations correspond to the textual results in that T and Y, which the textual evidence shows to be close, correspond closely in dialect, while B, which appears to have a separate ancestor from HTY, comes from a quite different area.

1. McFarlane (1972b) p.162.

2. See Thomson (1965) p.20ff., McFarlane (1972a) p.144ff, Hudson, *PR*, p.122ff.

3. Thomson (1965), p.48.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As is by now well known,¹ the manuals of religious instruction which proliferated in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries owed their existence to the movement for education and reform initiated by Pope Innocent III in the the Fourth Lateran Council (1215-16), the decrees of which were incorporated into the decretals of Gregory IX and were thus accepted into canon law.² In particular, the twenty-first canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus* (which made it the duty of each member of the Church to confess to his parish priest at least once a year), resulted in increased concern over the educational standards of the clergy, since any priest offering confession needed sufficient learning to be able to question his parishoners on their sins and to inflict appropriate penances.

The influence of the Council can be clearly seen in the subsequent synodal constitutions. Latin tracts specifically aimed at the education of the clergy were often issued by the bishops, either separately or in conjunction with such constitutions and these were often specifically linked with the education, in turn, of the laity. There is an emphasis on the basic tenets of the

1. See, for example, the discussions by Boyle and Shaw, both in Heffernan, ed. (1985).

2. See Gibbs and Lang p.104. For the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council see DEC i.227-271.

Christian faith, and especially on the the ten commandments. The first of the statutes (?1239) of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, for instance, begins by stating that, since the salvation of souls is not possible unless the ten commandments are kept, everyone with cure of souls should know the decalogue and should preach and expound it to his parishioners.¹ The famous *Ignorancia Sacerdotum* (1281) of Archbishop Peckham states that the laity are to be instructed by their priests four times a year on the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the two precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven virtues and the seven sacraments. In order that ignorance should not excuse the priests from carrying out this task, Peckham supplies a brief summary of the important points.²

From the beginning, the teaching of the laity was carried out in English. Poore instructs priests to expound the articles of the faith to their parishioners 'domestico ydiomate'.³ Peter de Roches

1. C&S p.268. Grosseteste's statutes were influential, and this particular instruction also appears, for instance, in the statutes of William Raleigh, Bishop of Norwich and subsequently of Winchester, and in those of Nicholas Farnham, Bishop of Durham, while the Worcester statutes of 1240 emphasise the importance of the commandments for the confessional (C&S pp.304, 345, 403, 423).

2. C&S 900-905.

3. C&S p.61.

enjoins his priests to carry out their instruction in the confessional 'saltem in materna lingua',¹ a phrase repeated, for example, by Peter Quivel²; while Peckham states that such instruction should be carried out 'populo vulgariter absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica'.³ Instruction was given by preaching, in the confessional or in small groups.⁴

There was clearly a demand from the clergy for manuals which could be easily understood. As Vincent Gillespie has pointed out,⁵ works such as Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis* or John de Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi*, though aimed at the clergy, would only have been accessible to an elite. The result was the production of what Gillespie has described as 'simpler, cruder, humbler manuals' many of which were in English. Thus the *Dextera Pars* of the *Oculus* appears in English verse as John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, a work explicitly aimed at the priest who is not a 'grete clerk',⁶ and further vernacular manuals included, for example, the *Speculum Christiani*. Vernacular manuals aimed specifically at the laity include *Handlyng Synne* and

1. *C&S* ii.134.

2. *Ibid.* p.1076.

3. *Ibid.* p.901.

4. For small group teaching, see, for example, Poore's instructions that 'Pueros quoque frequenter convocent et unum vel duos instruant vel instrui faciant' (*C&S* p.61). See also Gillespie (1981), p.11. For the use of pastoralia in sermons see Spencer (1993), pp.196-227.

5. Gillespie (1981), pp.1-2

6. Mirk p.68/13.

Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*. A major development occurred in 1357 when John Thoresby, Archbishop of York, put forward a plan for the improvement of priestly instruction of the laity which, while itself in Latin, was accompanied by a longer English version, written by John Gaytrig and authorised and commissioned by Thoresby himself.¹ Thoresby's instructions were clearly expected to be passed on to the laity through the medium of the clergy, but it nevertheless seems likely that the circulation of the vernacular version and its inclusion in Thoresby's register may have been seen as implying archiepiscopal sanction for the production of vernacular manuals for the laity. It also seems likely - indeed almost inevitable - that, as Gillespie suggests, the literate laity may have consulted copies of the work, and, certainly, as he points out, at least one copy of the text found its way into lay ownership, since one appears in Robert Thornton's miscellany.² The general increase in lay literacy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries probably encouraged the production of vernacular material specifically for the laity.³ As P.Barnum says in the introduction

1. Printed from Thoresby's Register (York Borthwick Institute of Historical Research Reg. 13 ff.295^r-297^v) in *LFC* and from Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91 ff.213^v-218^v in Perry pp.1-15 and Blake pp.73-8. For a fascimile see *The Thornton Manuscript* introduced by D.S. Brewer and A.E.B. Owen (London, 1977). For Thoresby's letter to Gaytrig (BL MS Cotton Galba E.x ff.73^v-74^r) see Swanson (1991), the findings of which to some extent modify Hudson, 'A New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism' and 'The Lay Folks' Catechism: a Postscript'.

2. Gillespie (1981), pp.27-8.

3. See Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', esp. pp.564ff.

to *Dives and Pauper*, 'Dives, the rich man, would seem to personify the intended audience of *Dives and Pauper* in the first decade of the fifteenth century - the growing number of newly literate, worldly, somewhat credulous yet pious laymen, whose importance in medieval ecclesiastical history it is, according to W.A. Pantin, "impossible to exaggerate"'.¹

The use of the vernacular for lay education thus predated Lollardy, and it seems likely that Wyclif and his followers early recognised its advantages.² Certainly complaints about preaching to the laity, which must of necessity have been in English, began before Wyclif's death. Even before the Blackfriars Council of 1382, the Bishop of Lincoln had issued citations against William Swinderby accusing him of running about and preaching without authority³ and in the same year William Courtnay, in a letter written after Wyclif's condemnation, refers to the fact that

1. *DPI*.i.x.

2. It seems likely that the preaching against clerical abuses which Wyclif carried out on John of Gaunt's behalf in London in 1376 was in English, and Wyclif's 1378 defence against papal accusations was published in both Latin and English (see *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae* i.350/7-9). See also the English confession on the Eucharist (*SEWW* pp.17-18), although the authorship of this is doubtful. Hereford and Rippingdon preached in the vernacular in Oxford in 1382 (Hudson, 'Wyclif and the English Language' p.95), and Michael Wilks has suggested that a Wycliffite band of itinerant priests was probably in existence from as early as 1372/3 (Wilks, "'Reformatio Regini': Wyclif and Hus as leaders of religious protest movements", p.120).

3. *LAO*, Episcopal Register xii f.242r; see also McFarlane (1952), pp.121-5

unlicensed preachers are preaching 'nunullas propositiones et conclusiones ... haereticas, erroneas, atques falsas, olim ab ecclesia condemnatas'.¹

Meanwhile, during that last twenty years of the fourteenth century, the Bible had been translated into English.² Orthodox fears about this activity are clearly expressed in Knighton's *Chrionicle* where we are informed that, as a result, 'the pearl of the gospel is scattered abroad and trodden underfoot of swine.'³ The Lollard vernacular tracts, which were a natural extension of Lollard preaching, were characterised by their use of the Bible and were thus open to the same orthodox objections. That the Church should disapprove of such tracts is not surprising since, as the passage from Knighton suggests, the attitude of the lettered towards those ignorant of Latin could be extremely patronising. As far as the Christian faith was concerned, the laity could be regarded as children with the clergy as adults. The author of the *Lay Folks' Mass Book* suggests that lay understanding of the gospel reading is unnecessary: 'þer understondyng fayles þe verrey vertu. 3ow awayles þorw grace. þat god 3ow grauntes'.⁴

Lollard vernacular tracts, on the other hand, provided

1. FZ p.275

2. For the date of this translation see Hudson, *PR* p.247.

3. Knighton ii.151-2.

4. *Lay Folks' Mass Book* p.41/431-48.

those who could neither read nor understand Latin with the wherewithal to decide for themselves on religious matters.

Margaret Aston has given a vivid account of the eagerness with which Lollards read and listened to such material,¹ and the enthusiasm for such texts may well be reflected in the numbers surviving.²

As we have seen, such educational vernacular tracts were not in themselves a new departure: the Lollards made use of a tradition and genre which the Church had conveniently already established. Indeed, one of the problems for the Church was the use Lollards made of originally orthodox material. As Anne Hudson says, 'It has long been recognised that a fruitful source of Lollard texts is the revision of earlier writing, with the introduction of new and usually more radical material'.³ Although doubt has been cast on the Lollardy of the Lambeth version of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*,⁴ there remain, for instance, Lollard Psalter commentaries based on the orthodox English commentary by Richard Rolle and a Lollard

1. Aston, 'Lollardy and Literacy' pp.199-200.

2. On the numbers of Lollard vernacular tracts see Hudson, 'Some aspects of Lollard Book Production' p.181. As H.L. Spencer has pointed out to me, however, the evidence of what Anne Hudson has described as 'an organised attempt to supply books of Lollard instruction' (*ibid.* p.188) makes it difficult to be certain that the large amount of material is not the result of deliberate policy as much as of market forces.

3. Hudson, *PR* p.27.

4. Hudson, 'A New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism'.

version of the *Ancrene Riwe*.¹ Sr. M.Teresa Brady has described in detail the Lollard interpolations made to the original orthodox version of *Pore Caitif*.² As Anne Hudson puts it, 'at a time of manual reproduction, with all its attendant fluctuations between copies of page or column division, of layout, of spelling of title or heading, and its admission of scribal interference which might extend in revision as far as complete scribal takeover, any attempt at verification of texts was doomed to failure.'³ The only option open to the Church in the end was to be the banning of all such vernacular material.

The Church took some time, however, to organise itself effectively against Lollardy. Lack of direction from Rome can probably be blamed on the schism, the dampening effect of which can be gauged by the fact that the 1414-18 Council of Constance, which brought it to an end, also saw the burning of Hus and the condemnation of 260 of Wyclif's opinions, together with the order that his bones should be dug up and cast out of consecrated ground.⁴ In England, Walsingham's 1389 complaint about the

1. Hudson, *PR* pp.27-8, 421-5. For discussion of the Lollard interpolated version of the *Ancrene Riwe* see Colledge (1939). See also the edition by J. Pählsson, *The Recluse* (Lund,1911).

2. Brady, 'Lollard Interpolations and Omissions'.

3. Hudson, *PR* p.422

4. Workman ii.318-20. For links by contemporary commentators between the schism and the increase in Lollardy see Harvey, 'Lollardy and the Great Schism'.

inaction of all the bishops (except for Despenser)¹ suggests that the increased cooperation between Church and state which took place during this period was not particularly effective.²

Moreover, the attitude of the lay power towards Lollardy was ambivalent, or at least perceived to be ambivalent. Wyclif had, after all, received the support of John of Gaunt,³ and although Gaunt's support may have cooled after the publication of Wyclif's views on the Eucharist, he nevertheless apparently intervened in 1382 on behalf of William Swinderby.⁴ Lollardy had apparently considerable support amongst the gentry and, while Richard II cannot himself be shown to be a supporter, it was nevertheless the case that several of the 'Lollard Knights' were his close friends or councillors.⁵ As long as Richard was king, despite pressure from the Pope following the posting of the Twelve Conclusions, and a petition by the Bishops, probably presented in 1397,⁶ the Church had no success in persuading the lay power to institute the death penalty for heresy.

Thus, during the late fourteenth century, it was possible to be interested in Lollard arguments and opinions - with the exception

1. Walsingham, *HA* ii.188.

2. For this cooperation see Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power'.

3. Workman i.275ff.

4. See Knighton ii.193.

5. See McFarlane (1972), pp.160, 163ff; and McNiven (1987), p.46.

6. See Richardson and Sayles, 'Parliamentary Documents from the Formularies' pp.152-4.

of those on the eucharist - without necessarily defining oneself as a heretic. Anne Hudson contrasts this period 'where the people involved may have encountered Wyclif's ideas before they were condemned and when the significance of the Blackfriars decision for the church as a whole was not clearly understood' with the period immediately after 1401 'when consciousness of a divide between two opposing, and incompatible, groups was beginning to emerge',¹ while McFarlane points out that, although 1382 saw the disciplining and scattering of university Lollards, 'the obscurity that followed was not at first the obscurity of the hunted and concealed; it was still largely the obscurity of the tolerated and ignored; the turning point came slowly between 1401 and 1413'.²

By 1401 the king was no longer Richard II. Henry IV, having taken the throne by force in 1399, had good reason to fear insurrection, and it was therefore in his interests and those of his supporter Arundel that any potential opposition should be discredited in advance by being identified with heresy and that it should be made clear to all such potential opponents that they were putting their lives at risk.³ The 1401 statute, *De Heretico Comburendo*, passed in response to a petition which stated that Lollards 'Populum nequiter instruunt & informant & ad

1. Hudson, *PR* p.394.

2. McFarlane (1972), p.224.

3. See McNiven (1987), p.69ff.

sedicionem seu insurrectionem excitant quantum possunt',¹ was, as Peter McNiven says, a measure which marked 'the final explicit recognition of the principle that heresy was a heinous crime against the state as well as an offence against the Church'.² The statute was anticipated by the burning of William Sawtre, and, five days after his death, Wyclif's secretary, John Purvey, submitted to the authority of the Church.³

Nevertheless, the reign of Henry IV was not particularly noticeable for the persecution of Lollards. Apart from Sawtre, only one heretic was actually burnt during Henry IV's reign: John Badby in 1410.⁴ It was Henry V rather than Henry IV who was seen as a 'king dedicated to the extirpation of Lollardy, by force if necessary'.⁵ For much of Henry IV's reign there was still felt to be a possibility that certain Lollard demands might be met by the lay power.⁶ Only after the Oldcastle revolt of 1413-14, when the secular government began to take a much more active role against Lollards, did such co-operation finally become impossible.⁷

Lollard vernacular tracts were also early recognised as a problem. In 1382 a commission to the chancellor and proctors of

1. *RP* iii.466b

2. McNiven p.87.

3. For Sawtre's trial see e.g. McNiven pp.81-92; Wilkins, *Concilia* iii.255ff.

4. For an account of John Badby's trial and death see McNiven, pp.199-219.

5. Haines, 'Reginald Pecock', p.135.

6. See McNiven pp.169ff.

7. See Thomson (1965), p.5, and for the act passed in the wake of the revolt see *RP* iv.24a. For additional measures taken by the Church during this period see Chichele Reg. iii.18; Thompson (1965), pp.6-19.

Oxford University gave them the power to search for and seize 'any book or treatise of the said Wyclif or Hereford's editing or compiling'.¹ From March 30th 1388 onwards, as a result of the renewed consideration given during that year to the suppression of heresy, further commissions were issued forbidding the buying or selling of such 'books, booklets, schedules and quires'.² The commission granted to the Bishop of Worcester on May 29th, which added the names of Aston and Purvey to those of Wyclif and Hereford, explicitly stated that such writing was compiled both in English and Latin.³ Similar commissions were issued in various parts of the country on May 23rd and September 30th 1388 and on January 18th 1389⁴, while the visitation of William Courtenay to the diocese of Lincoln in 1392 resulted in the confiscation of the books of William Smith.⁵

As well as instituting the death penalty, the act *De Heretico Comburendo* reflected a growing concern about Lollard educational practices.⁶ It forbade not only the establishment of unauthorised schools or conventicles, but also the production of any book which contradicted the Catholic faith or the teaching of Holy Church, and further ordered that heretical books should be delivered to the bishops at forty days' notice. The 1406 statute, reflecting the concerns of

1. *CPR 1381-5*, p.153; Hudson, *PR*, p.177

2. Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power', p.10; *CPR 1385-89*, p.430.

3. *Ibid.* p.448.

4. *Ibid.* pp.468, 550, 536.

5. Knighton ii.313.

6. For *De Heretico Comburendo* see *RP* iii.467.

the time, forbade the preaching or writing of anything which might incite the people to remove Church possessions.¹ Nevertheless, an interest in Wyclif and his writings persisted, in Oxford at least, even amongst the orthodox until 1407, and the question of the validity of biblical translation was still open for discussion in the early years of the century.² The clampdown on such vernacular (and specifically Wycliffite) material came with Arundel's constitutions of 1407-9³ which stated that 'no book or treatise newly made by John Wycliffe or any other in his time or since, or hereafter to be made' should be read in 'schools, halls, hostels or any other places within our province aforesaid'. No doctrine from any such book was to be taught unless it had first been examined and approved - and unanimously passed - by at least twelve persons from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, themselves approved by the Archbishop and his successors. The translation into English of Holy Scripture - even individual texts - was forbidden unless the translation was passed by the Diocesan or Provincial Council.³ The effectiveness of this legislation can be gauged by the fact that both Thomas Gascoigne and the author of the sermons of MS Longleat 4 complain of its inhibiting effect upon preachers.⁴

1. *RP*ii.583

2. Hudson, 'Debate on Bible translation', esp. pp.82-4.

3. Hudson, 'Lollardy: the English Heresy?' p.149. For the relevant sections of Arundel's Constitutions see Lyndwood pp.284b-285b; Bullard and Bell pp.122-3.

4. Gascoigne pp.180-1; Hudson and Spencer pp.220-38, esp. pp.231-2.

THE COMMENTARIES IN CONTEXT

Of all the possible forms which a vernacular religious tract might take, that of a ten commandments commentary is perhaps especially suited to the expression of Lollard opinions. Not only did such a commentary provide, as Anne Hudson has pointed out,¹ natural opportunities for the exposition of Lollard views on such matters as the shortcomings of one's spiritual directors and on images, but the commandments are, in a very special sense, 'God's law' and their exposition therefore provided many opportunities for the traditional Lollard contrast between God's law and man's law, whether canonical or secular. According to Wyclif, the existence of Biblical law made both secular and canon law unnecessary.² The HTY group shows clear evidence of this attitude, commenting, for example, that 'siþ lawe of þe Emperour *and* lawe of þe Pope ben worse þan þis lawe bi a þousyndfold *and* þes letten knowyng *and* doyng of Goddis lawe *and* ofte tymes ben eresies contrarie to þis lawe, many men þenken þat Goddis lawe itsilf shulde be red *and* lerned *and* sued in dede. For þer is no caas þat ne it wolde decide it, *and* stable rist *and* pees.' (T155/6-11). Canon law is criticised as a 'new lawe' created by Antichrist (i.e. the Pope) (T65/8). Such views, which were obviously unlikely to be welcomed by the Church, were early identified with

1. Hudson, *PR* p.167.

2. *DCD* i.118ff., 402-3 etc.

Lollardy. Knighton, for instance, records as item three of Wycliffite opinions held in 1388 that they believe "Quod papa non potest condere canones decretales seu constitutiones, et si quos condiderit nullus tenetur eos observare."¹

The passages on canon law quoted above do not occur in B,² but the B version does share with HTY various comments on the death penalty as administered by the secular power. As part of the discussion of the fifth commandment all manuscripts consider the legitimacy of this punishment and come to the conclusion that 'no man shulde sle oþer bi autorite of þe lawe but if he were siker þat Goddis lawe bad it' (T103/1-2, cf.B103/1-2), and, further, that a condemned man should not be killed unless such a death could be seen to be profitable to his soul: 'so þat him were betere þus to be sleyn þan to lyue forþ vnþunysid for his trespas' (T104/6-7, cf.B104/3-4). The HTY group, typically, contains slightly more of this type of material, including a passage offering an alternative method 'groundid in Cristis lawe' for dealing with thieves (T131/13ff.). Lollard views on the death penalty were related to their views on fighting, a topic addressed by both versions as part of their eighth commandment discussion (B138/5ff., T138/5ff.). Although this passage

1. Knighton ii.261, quoted by Hudson, *PR* p.378.

2. It is, however, difficult to tell whether B is making deliberate omissions. He has turned to his DI source before the HTY passage cited above, but this may be because he wishes to expand on the HTY version's extremely brief commentary on the tenth commandment.

fails to come down firmly on one side or the other, the instinct of the writer is clearly to avoid fighting save in exceptional circumstances. We are told that God himself ordained fighting in the 'Olde Lawe' (B138/9, T138/9) and that it is therefore permissible, but that nevertheless motives are important. No man should fight with his enemy 'but bi charite' (T139/1, cf.B139/1); it must be done at God's bidding and in God's cause and the final aim must be the worship of God. Present-day battles are characterised as being the result of incitement by the Devil. To some extent this discussion echoes the view put forward by Wyclif in *De Mandatis Divinis* 'quod nemo invadat vel occidat alium nisi ex caritate fraterna.'¹ Wycliffite pacifist views were coloured by the expensive disaster of the 1382 Despenser's Crusade which resulted in slaughter and failure and in the impeachment of the Bishop of Norwich.² Such views were frequently expressed by Lollards. The tenth of the Twelve Conclusions published in 1395, for example, states that 'manslaute be batayle or pretense lawe of rythwysnesse for temperal cause or spirituel withouten special reuelaciun is expres contrarious to þe newe testament'³, while Walter Brut at his trial in 1391 expressed his opposition to both war and execution.⁴ One of the articles cited against William White in 1428 was his belief 'quod nullibi in nova

1. *DMD* p.344, and see the discussion in Hudson, *PR* p.368

2. See Workman ii.66ff. For comments by Wyclif on the crusade see *Polemical Works* ii.588ff.

3. *SEWW* p.28.

4. Hereford Register, Trefnant p.361, items 4 & 5, and p.316ff.

lege Christus concessit latrones et malefactores suspendio vel aliquo alio modo occidi'¹, a statement which is a very close to opinions expressed in our texts. For an orthodox response to the Twelve Conclusions see Dymmok.²

The HTY version makes more obvious use than B of the fourth commandment opportunities for criticism of the clergy, observing, with comprehensive forthrightness, 'if þi Pope, þi bisshop, þi parsoun or wiker be knowun of þee to draw *in* þe deuelis 3ok, worshiþe *him* not as siche but hate *him* as þin enemye in þat þat he is synful, but loue *him* in 3oure kynde.' (T98/11-99/2), and asking why, since Christ reproves those whom he loves, 'if we louen *men* in God' we should not also 'telle *hem* Goddis lawe, *and procure þat þei holde his lawe*' (T99/14-17).³ B's fourth commandment material contains no such extreme passages, although his instruction to follow the priest's bidding 'in þat þat Godes lawe techþ' (B95/1) seems to imply a willingness *not* to obey under certain circumstances.

In any case, both our versions show a willingness to carry out the HTY group's instructions and to criticise the clergy who fail to perform the duties which their office requires (B61/8-62/1, T61/9-62/1) and both condemn prelates for failing to teach and preach God's law (with the result that those who are dependent on them for such teaching suffer

1. FZp.431, item xxix.

2. Dymmok pp.255-6.

3. The clear break between the independent HTY material and the material shared with B once again makes it difficult to tell whether this section has been omitted by B or whether it is a later HTY addition.

spiritual death), as well as for failing to stand up to tyrants (B107/4-10, T107/4-10).¹ As Pantin points out, self criticism was a characteristic of the Church at this time and such comments were therefore not only made by Lollards.² For instance, both the B and the HTY versions complain about priests who obtain their positions by worldly means, categorising them as both night thieves and day thieves, because they break in through the roof rather than entering through the door (i.e. Christ) (B126/3ff, T126/3ff.).³

The wording of this passage echoes one of Wyclif's sermons and may well have been drawn from it,⁴ but the issue was topical in the late fourteenth century amongst orthodox clerics. In 1391, for instance, Archbishop Courtenay sent a letter to all suffragan bishops including Braybrook, Bishop of London, complaining that some of the clergy 'negotiatione muneris gratiam Sancti Spiritus mercari non timent, cum ut ad ecclesias et ecclesiastica beneficia, quibus non nisi gratis et libere frui licet, praesententur, pretia donent, contractus simoniacos oculte

1. The HTY version contains rather more of this material, however, than B. See, for example the section on priestly idolatry (T30/1ff.).

2. Pantin p.238.

3. The criticism of the clergy is initially less clear in B because the reference to prelates has been lost as a result of eyeskip. B does, however, share the HTY group's reference to priests (B127/6, T127/6).

4. *Sermones* iv.502-5 and cf. *EWS* iii.319-21.

ineant',¹ while Bishop Brinton complains that 'Auro beneficia impetrantur et officia procurantur.'² Such criticisms were, however, in Latin and intended for fellow clerics: to write them in the vernacular where the laity could read them was quite a different matter.³

It is true that, at one point in both versions of our commentary, the author appears to identify himself as a priest talking to priests (B6/9-7/2, T6/8-7/2), but it would be naive to imagine that the tract did not circulate among the laity, and, in any case, given the Lollard view that 'quilibet bonus homo, licet literaturam nesciat, est sacerdos'⁴, it is difficult to be certain of the exact implications of this passage. Criticism of the clergy in material available to the laity (although with reference to preaching rather than writing) was firmly outlawed by Arundel's Constitutions of 1407-9. The Constitutions instruct the preacher to 'preach to the clergy of the vices that rise amongst them and unto the lay of their sin which is commonly used amongst them, and not contrary wise'.⁵ A passage

1. Wilkins, *Concilia* iii.215.

2. Brinton ii.417

3. For the threat posed by the use of the vernacular, see Hudson, 'Lollardy: The English Heresy?'.¹

4. View expressed in 1388 by the Leicester group of Lollards, see *MV*, p.164; Hudson *PR* p.325. Note also the comments about studying without priestly guidance (B75/9-76/1, T75/9-76/1, passage discussed below).

5. See Bullard and Bell p.127, Lyndwood p.295a.

similar to the independent HTY comment that 'if lordis louyde her eldris in soule, þei shulden quenche her erroris *and* make hem more short, and folies þat þei bigan fordo hem at her myzt' (T100/1-3) was omitted from the Latin abridgement of Wyclif's *De Mandatis Divinis* found in MS Bodl. Laud Misc. 524, apparently because of its Lollard overtones.¹

Both the B and the HTY versions criticise clerical wealth. The Church, we are told, is like a tree and 'charge of temporal goodis knyttid bi coueitise makip þe bowes to bowe, *and* lettip þis tree to growe' (T64/2-4, cf. B64/2-4). Both versions accuse the clergy of being prepared to despoil labourers of the fruits of their labour: '*and* bisynesse of her trauel, þat God bad hem do, turne to priuey raueyn as *Antecrist* techip hem' (T64/9-65/2, cf. B64/9-65/3). The Caesarean clergy, who obtain their appointments by means of worldly influence and who enjoy secular wealth and power, are criticised for their behaviour on the grounds that 'no synne is more derk þan to lie þus on Crist *and* seie þat he was worldli lord' (T126/10-127/2, cf. B126/9-127/1), a passage which echoes Wyclif's view as expressed in *De Ecclesia*.² The first of these passages, in particular, might be considered to imply support for Church disendowment. Such support may well suggest Lollardy, but it should be noted that, partly as a result of the need of the secular arm for money,

1. See Pyper, 'An Abridgement of Wyclif's *De Mandatis Divinis*', p.308.

2. *De Ecclesia* p.300.

the idea of disendowment was current right up to 1410, not only amongst Lollards but amongst people who would not necessarily have counted themselves as Wycliffites.¹ Two friars addressed the 1371 parliament to the effect that the government had the right not only to tax the clergy, but also to confiscate Church property should the need arise,² and opposition to clerical taxation during the 1384/5 parliament led to the demand by a number of knights for wholesale Church disendowment.³ A demand for the confiscation of Church temporalities, apparently without Lollard involvement, was made by the commons in the Parliament of 1404.⁴ Only with the failure of the Lollard disendowment bill in 1410 and the subsequent burning of John Badby did the issue become less prominent in mainstream politics.⁵

It is worth noting, however, that the passage dealing with the charge of temporal goods appears to imply a disapproval of Church wealth *per se*. The idea that Church temporalities might be confiscated for a particular purpose (for example, to finance a war) is one thing, but the idea that it is wrong for the clergy to have temporalities in the first place is quite another.⁶ This latter idea, while implicit in the B/HTY passage,

1. See McNiven pp.10-11, 49, 72-8, 102-5, 169-71; Hudson, *PR* pp.337-8; Aston, 'Lollardy and Sedition' pp.20-21.

2. Galbraith, 'Articles laid before the Parliament of 1375', pp.580-2.

3.. Walsingham, *HA* ii.139-40.

4. Walsingham, *HA* ii.265-7; *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, p.393; McNiven pp.169-71.

5. McNiven pp.185-219.

6. On this distinction, see, for example, Hudson, *PR* p.338.

is even more forcefully expressed in HTY material not shared with B, notably in the final section of the fourth commandment where we are told that to give your spiritual father worldly wealth is heresy (T98/9). The HTY discussion of the seventh commandment includes the statement that there would be less reason for theft if the goods of the Church were shared out amongst secular men (T131/6-8). The view that it was wrong for the ecclesiastics to have temporalities was early identified with Lollardy and the 1382 Blackfriars Council condemned it as heresy.¹ HTY's independent fourth commandment material, attacking the Caesarean clergy, refers openly to this condemnation ('and at þe day of doom shal bosteris be doumbe þat now reuersen þis sentence *and* seien þat it is eresie' (T100/7-9)), thus making this particular version's stand on the matter clear beyond doubt. The statement that 'it is aȝens þe lawe of God þat bischopis and oþer prelatis of þe chirche schulden have temperal possessions', a view very similar to the HTY opinion that 'lordis shulde not ȝyue her bisshops lordshipis of þis world' (T100/4-5), was one of the Sixteen Points on which the bishops accused the Lollards.²

The call for Church disendowment was originally related to

1. *FZ* p.279, item x.

2. *SEWW* p.19, item 9.

Wyclif's views on dominion. Wyclif believed that rightful possession could only be obtained through grace and that therefore if the Church abused its goods it was the duty of the state to remove them. Action of this kind, he argued was the will of God since God could not have failed to provide a remedy for such an evil.¹ A section of the seventh commandment discussion found in both our versions clearly reflects such views, informing us that 'lordis of þis world, þat seruen God not treuly steilen Goddis goodis' (T126/1-2, cf.B126/1-2), an argument which is immediately applied, in the HTY version at least,² to prelates of the Church. Leff believes that the use of arguments drawn from Wyclif's views on dominion were soon superseded by arguments on clerical poverty which were drawn from the Bible,³ and such passages might therefore be taken to imply a comparatively early date for our texts. However, as Anne Hudson points out, although the 1428 lists of questions to be asked during the examination of Lollards contain no reference to views on dominion, versions of this view were being expressed by Lollards as late as 1429.⁴ Arguments drawn from Wycliffite views on dominion are used by the HTY group to support somewhat extreme views on property rights not found in B; for instance to justify taking another man's goods in time of need, since God, who is

1. *DCD* i.267.

2. The loss of the reference to prelates in B is due to eyeskip.

3. Leff ii.549.

4. Hudson, *PR* p.362.

true lord of everything, is deemed to give permission (T124/2-4).¹

Both our versions place the responsibility for rectifying clerical abuses firmly in the hands of the secular power. 'Knistis', we are told, 'shulde shewe þe power of Godhed *and* bi worldli strengþe mayntene Goddis lawe' (T62/9-63/1, cf. B62/9-63/1), and secular lords are blamed for protecting those clergy who obtain their positions by simony and who despoil the people (B127/4-6, T127/4-6). The various attempts made to achieve Church disendowment through the medium of Parliament, show that Lollard hopes for secular support remained current at least up to 1410. If, as Peter McNiven suggests, the burning of John Badby in 1410 was arranged as an object lesson for the Commons to make clear the implications of their conduct,² it may well have been at this point that the Lollards ceased to believe in the possibility of working alongside the existing secular power. As Leff says, 'Only when Lollardy ceased to hope for lay support did it become subversive in the wider sense and challenge state as well as church'.³ The calls made by our texts for action by the secular arm may thus perhaps suggest a date before 1410.

1. The HTY argument is more coherent than that found in B and it seems likely that B has lost some sections of the HTY discussion on dominion as part of the process of inserting his DI material. The passage on taking goods without leave may have been omitted because it was too extreme but it is difficult to be certain.

2. McNiven p.201.

3. Leff ii.585.

One clear manifestation of the wealth of the Church was the decoration of churches and, in particular, the use of images. Disapproval of images was early recognised as a Lollard trait and remained thereafter an important ground for suspicion. The Leicester Lollards apprehended by Courtenay in 1382 believed that 'ymagines non debent aliquo modo venerari, nec luminaria coram eis apponi'¹; a group of Northampton Lollards who appeared before Bishop Buckingham in 1393 believed that you might as well kiss the stones in the fields as place lights or gifts before images²; and a question about the veneration of the cross and of images appears as item 26 on Bishop Polton's 1428 jurist's list.³

Neither of our commentaries is altogether unequivocal in its condemnation of images. Two noticeably orthodox statements are offered by the HTY group: first that images may do good when they are used like books to increase the love of God (T33/1-2); and, secondly, that they are permissible nowadays (as they weren't in the Old Testament) because Christ has been made man in the meantime (T34/3-7), an argument which Arundel himself puts to William Thorpe.⁴ However, the HTY' version's treatment of the topic begins on a negative note with a passage drawn from Holcot asking whether images are lawful and supplying the answer that it seems they are not (T30/11-31/1), and

1. *MV* p.164.

2. A.K. McHardy, 'Bishop Buckingham and the Lollards of the Lincoln Diocese', *SCH* 9 (1972), pp.131-45 (p.144).

3. Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards' p.134, item 26.

4. *TWT* p.57/1103-6).

each of the two concessions mentioned is followed by a warning.

Images do good, we are told, but they also do evil, since men place all their hope and love on them, a sin which is common to both lettered and unlettered; priestly covetousness, too, is implicated in such practices (T33/2-9). Moreover, though it may be *permissible* to have images, nevertheless 'siche ape liknesse blyndip many men *and* mak[ip] hem, bi litil þing þat is ofte leueful, wade in depe errours' (T34/9-10). Possibly not all the HTY material would have pleased the more extreme Lollard iconoclasts, but there can be no doubt about this version's Lollard approach to the subject.

The B version's treatment of images has been discussed in detail by both Owst and Aston,¹ who differ considerably in their assessment: according to Owst, B's treatment clearly shows 'the official attitude to images as set forth by the orthodox pulpit', while Aston considers that any close inspection of B's discussion would reveal its 'suspect character'. Anne Hudson describes B's views as 'outspoken'.² The truth is that B's attitude varies, probably because he is making use of sources which themselves had differing attitudes. B quotes St. Gregory in support of the use of images as books for the unlettered (B35/8-12); and his emphasis on the value of the images of St. Lawrence and St. Catherine (which we are told serve as reminders of the passions they suffered for love of God (B36/9ff.)) would scarcely have attracted

1. Owst (1961), pp.141-3; Aston, 'Lollards and Images' pp.153-6.

2. Hudson, *PR* p.425.

the approval of men like William Smith and Richard Wayestaythe who apparently burnt an image of the latter in order to cook their dinner.¹

It is difficult to be certain of the extent to which B's use of material drawn from Wyclif would necessarily imply Lollardy.² *De Mandatis Divinis* is not an extreme work and Wyclif's views on the matter did not attract adverse criticism within his own lifetime. Much probably depends on the date of the tract and the extent to which the compiler or the reader would be likely to recognise the source. Two sections in particular, however, do seem to indicate Lollardy: the opposition (in a passage drawn from Holcot)³ to the offering of *latría* (i.e. worship due only to God) to the cross (B35/18ff.) and the suggestion that worship should be offered, not to images, but to the 'meke, trewe, poure man þat ys þe trewe ymage of God'(B37/14). As we have already seen, questions on the worship of the Cross were asked at Lollard interrogations, and the

1. Knighton ii.182-3, and see the discussion in Hudson, *PR* p.76.

2. For passages drawn from Wyclif see notes to B31/1, B32/18. Aston herself, though using the passages from Wyclif as evidence of B's Lollardy, nevertheless recognises that Wyclif's treatment is 'noteworthy both for its lack of extremism and also for its historical awareness' ('Lollards and Images', pp.154 and 138).

3. The use by both HTY and B of different sections of the same Holcot discussion suggests the possibility of a common ancestor containing both. The textual evidence, however, is insufficient for this to be in any way certain, and they may simply have used similar sources.

practice was accepted by the more orthodox commentators.¹ As Deveros observes in his treatise on images written at the end of the fourteenth century, '*omnis reuerencia que ymagini Christi offertur Christo offertur et propter ea cultus latrerie debet ymagini Christi exhiberi*',² a view supported by Roger Dymmok.³ Deveros further offers arguments against the worship of man: the devil too is made in the image of God and if it is permissible to worship man it is therefore presumably also permissible to worship the devil. Moreover, since man is a rational creature, it is not really possible to see him as a sign of anything else, but as a thing in himself and therefore, if he is worshipped, he is likely to be worshipped for himself and not as a sign and this would be idolatry.⁴

It should be noted, however, that Deveros' introduction to his treatise suggests that the whole question of images was still a matter for discussion in the later years of the fourteenth century since he states that he came to write his orthodox account in response to arguments put to him by a nobleman, while the publicity given to his views elicited a response from an Oxford opponent⁵. As Anne Hudson observes, citing the topics of images and biblical translation as examples, 'many opinions

1. See Aston, 'Lollards and Images' pp.155 and 157-8.

2. BL MS Royal 6.E.III f.59^{vb}.

3. Dymmok, p.188.

4. BL.MS.Royal 6.E III f.60^{rb}.

5. *Ibid.*f.59^{rb}.

later identified with Lollardy could be questions of neutrality in the earlier years of the movement'.¹ It is also worth remembering that the offering of *latria* to the cross was criticised in *Dives and Pauper*², a work copied for the library of St. Alban's Abbey, something which suggests that the perception of such material as heretical or otherwise probably depended not only on its date but also on who was thought to be going to read it.³

The same cannot be said for Lollard views on the Eucharist, views which are clearly expressed by the HTY group.⁴ As part of the discussion on images the HTY version observes that we see the body of Christ each day but 'wiþ ysen of soule *and* not with yse of body' (T34/8), while, as part of the discussion of the fifth commandment, it contains a section expressing the wish that the people would worship God's law and consider it to be just as they suppose man's law to be, in the hope that 'þamme shulden þei not be contrarie to Crist: whanne he seiþ þat þis breed is myn owne body þei reuersen him *and* seien þat þis may neþer be breed ne þe body of Crist, as false freris gabben' (T101/6-12).

Both these opinions can be traced back to Wyclif. Wyclif repeatedly discussed the question of whether or not the body of

1. Hudson, 'The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401', p.83 and note.

2. *DPI*.i.83-5, 87-9.

3. See Hudson, *PR* p.418.

4. For Wyclif's view of the cult of the Eucharist as a form of idolatry, see Catto (1985), esp. pp.275-82.

Christ is seen 'corporaliter' in the eucharist and he came to the conclusion that we perceive Christ's body with our mental rather than bodily eye.¹ The official Church view of the eucharist, dating from the time of Innocent III, held that, after the act of consecration, only the 'accidents' of the bread and wine remained - their appearance, their smell etc. - but not their substance, the substance having been changed into that of the body and blood of Christ. In Wyclif's view, it was simply not possible for the bread to become non-existent in this fashion,² and nor was it possible for accidents to be separated from their substance. To maintain that this was what was happening, to say that Christ's body was present in substance, while the accidents were those of bread, was in effect to say that there was nothing there. As he tells us in the *Trialogus* under the heading *De Fratrum Haeresibus*, in a passage which may be the source of the second of the HTY passages quoted above, the logical result of holding such a view is that 'ipsum non potest esse panis vel corpus Christi.'³ This view, as the HTY passage implies, also owed a

1. See, for example, *De Eucharistia* pp 20-21, 230, 307, and the second of Wyclif's opinions listed *FZ* p.105.

2. See *Leff* ii.551-2.

3. *Trialogus* p.339/14.

great deal to the Lollard dependence on the authority of scripture.

Wyclif quotes Luke 22:19 ('And he took bread and gave thanks and broke it and gave it to them saying "This is my body"') and argues that when Christ said 'this' he was indicating the bread which he had already received, i.e. the implication is that the bread still remained.¹

There was no time at which Wycliffite views on the eucharist were acceptable to the Church. Wyclif's theses on this subject were condemned at Oxford in 1381² and may also have resulted in a certain cooling of relations between John of Gaunt and the Lollard movement.³ The first three Wycliffite views condemned by the Blackfriars Council concerned the eucharist⁴ and, as Anne Hudson has pointed out, the first question in the list to be asked of Lollards in Bishop Polton's register dealt with the same subject. As she says 'From 1382 onwards a rejection of transubstantiation was typical of Wycliffite writings and trials, and it seems clear from the vehemence of the condemnation that [for] any text or suspect in England from then at least until the mid-1520s to reiterate that rejection must be regarded as Wycliffite'.⁵ Wycliffite views on

1. *De Eucharistia* p.34.

2. Lechler pp.367-71.

3. For Gaunt's attitude, see FZ pp.114 and 318.

4. *Ibid.* pp.277-8.

5. Hudson, *PR* pp.281-2.

dominion, Lollard views on images may have been acceptable during the early years of Lollardy but there was no time after 1382 when this was true of Wycliffite views on the eucharist.

The content of the HTY version's comments on this topic thus clearly identifies it as a Lollard text. Once again, however, the B version's position is a great deal less clear. B does not share either of the HTY group's passages on this topic, although there is once again no evidence that B was making deliberate expurgations.¹ As far as the second and more clearly Wycliffite passage on the eucharist is concerned (i.e. the section occurring at the beginning of the fifth commandment), it appears at least possible that this was a later addition, postdating the break with B.²

B's only independent comment on the eucharist is ambiguous. B defines the sacrament of the altar as 'Cristes body in forme of bred' (B36/1). While this might not appear to be a particularly extreme view,

1. For examples of such expurgations made to Lollard texts see Spencer, 'The Fortunes of a Lollard Sermon Cycle' and Hudson, 'The Expurgation of a Lollard Sermon Cycle'.

2. See the discussion of this passage in the chapter on the textual tradition.

it is possible that the expression 'forme of bred' was a deliberate evasion. When Richard Wyche appeared before Bishop Walter Skirlawe in 1402 he too stated that the consecrated Host was 'verum corpus Domini in forma panis', but, when pressed as to whether bread actually remained after consecration, he was troubled and appears to have been unwilling to commit himself.¹ In response to the archdeacon's comment that he appeared to be faltering in his faith, he repeated his definition only to be told that it was false and that the consecrated host was 'corpus Christi in specie panis, non in forma'. A similar definition was made by Oldcastle.²

B's reference to the Eucharist could therefore possibly contain overtones of Lollardy, but it is also possible that the ambiguity of the term 'forme of bred' would not necessarily be recognised by all readers. After all, the use of the term by Lollards at their trials must imply that they felt they had some grounds for hoping that their questioners might be satisfied with it, and it is possible that it was only over a period of time, as their interlocutors gained experience, that suspicion was aroused.

One other definition made by B might be considered to have Lollard implications: that of the Church as 'alle trewe Cristene peple' (B9/6). Wyclif believed that the Church consisted not of the hierarchical

1. 'The Trial of Richard Wyche' pp.532ff. For further discussion of this topic see Hudson, *PR* p.284.

2. *FZ* p.438.

Roman Catholic Church but of the whole body of the predestined.¹ Officials of the hierarchical Church might or might not be part of this body. As part of the examination of Hus, this doctrine was condemned by the Council of Constance in 1415.² The belief was held by Oldcastle when he appeared before Arundel in 1413.³ The doctrine was not, however, condemned by either Gregory XI or the Blackfriars Council and it is possible that it took some time for its implications to be understood. By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, however, it was clearly recognised as a Lollard opinion since question number 40 in Bishop Polton's jurist's list, 'an mali sint pars ecclesie catholice?', is evidently based on some such argument.⁴

The only other sacrament to be dealt with at any length by both versions is confession. Both B and the HTY group criticise the clergy for indulging in simoniacal practices in connection with their confessional duties. 'Mercymenis of prelati', i.e. fines imposed as penance (T152/8, cf.B152/10), are condemned because the clerics concerned keep the proceeds for themselves instead of using them for the benefit of the poor, and the practice of selling people permission to remain in their sin is

1. See e.g. *De Ecclesia* p.2.

2. Spinka, pp.183 and 260.

3. Pollard (ed.), p.184, cited by Hudson, *PR* p.321.

4. Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', p.134, item 40.

characterised as a new form of theft established by Antichrist (B150/7-9, T150/7-8).¹ Wyclif himself complains about the simony associated with confession,² but such complaints were not confined to Lollards. The *Myroure to Lewde Men and Wymmen*, for example, categorises priests who require such payment as being 'liche to Iudas þat solde oure Lord Ihesu Crist'.³ More obviously heretical is the view expressed by all four manuscripts that such absolution is invalid not only because of the simony involved but also because the prelate in question is in any case in no position to judge the state of a man's soul: 'But soþ it is þat lordis synnen ofte tymes *and* fallen fro lordship þat her God hap 3yuen hem, but þes blynde leches knowen þis not, ne whanne þei turnen azen bi grace of her God' (T151/7-152/1, cf. B151/7-152/1).

The question of the power of the Church to bind and to loose first arose as a result of Wyclif's views on disendowment, since such acts by the secular power might well have led to excommunication. Wyclif's view was that the Pope could only bind and loose when he was acting in accordance with the ordinance of Christ. Such beliefs were unacceptable to the Church from the beginning and they appear as items 9 and 14 in the list of accusations against Wyclif drawn up by Pope Gregory XI in 1377.⁴ As far as priests in general were concerned, Wyclif believed that

1. For additional HTY material see T108/1-2.

2. See e.g. *Opera Minora* pp.318-9.

3. *Myroure to Lewde Men and Wymmen* p.138/37.

4. Walsingham, *HA* i.354-5.

they too had no powers of absolution: God absolved, the priest merely spoke the words, since only God knew the state of a man's soul.¹ Opposition to confession was early identified as a characteristic of Lollards and consistently remained one of the means of identifying heresy, appearing, for example, as one of the the conclusions condemned as heretical by the Blackfriars Council and as one of the 44 conclusions to which Wyclif replied in 1383.² Questions on confession appear as items 5 and 6 on Bishop Polton's list.³ The expression of such views in these manuscripts thus very definitely suggests heterodoxy, although it is worth noting that the B compiler is also prepared to incorporate the more orthodox view expressed in his DI source's discussion of the third commandment: that part of each Sunday should be devoted to oral confession (B78/16-18).

Having been deprived by the Lollards of much of his sacramental function, all that was left to the priest was preaching and teaching. Although our texts recommend such practices, they also contain the suggestion that even this priestly function may be unnecessary. As part of the discussion of the third commandment, we are told, for instance

1. See Wyclif *Sermones* ii.62-3, 138-9, and Hudson, *PR* p.294.

2. FZ p.278, *Opera Minora* p.252; for the date of the *Responsiones* see Hudson *PR*, p.45.

3. Hudson, 'Examination of Lollards' p.133.

that 'discrecioun *and* studyng in Goddis lawe shulden teche a man betere to holde his haliday þan don þes propre prestis' (T75/9-76/1, cf.B75/9-76/1). The implication of this view was that a man could act as his own priest and more reliably than the priest provided by the Church. Naturally the Church did not care for this, and, as early as 1388, one of the articles cited against the Leicester group which included William Smith stated that 'quilibet bonus homo, licet literaturam nesciat, est sacerdos.'¹

Both the HTY and the B versions, then, contain recognisably Lollard material. In particular, HTY's material on the eucharist leaves no doubt as to the heterodoxy of this version. The B compiler's position is less clear but, while the perceived heterodoxy of certain of his views, for example on images, or some of his definitions (the eucharist as Christ's body in 'forme of bred', the Church as 'trewe Cristene peple'), may have depended on the date and audience, the cumulative effect, supported by the shared passages criticising clerical wealth and throwing doubts on the clerical ability to bind and loose, is of a definitely Lollard text.

One aspect of the B discussion may perhaps provide a clue to B's identity. The HTY version contains several sections of material critical of friars. Friars are condemned as manslaughterers (T108/12ff., a passage which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter), and they are

1. See Hudson, *PR* p.325 and note.

also criticised for begging. Antagonism to friars was characteristic of Lollardy. Although Wyclif had earlier been on good terms with the friars, who sympathised with his views on Church endowment, they had no sympathy at all with his stand on the eucharist, and by the time of the Blackfriars Council, which Wyclif described as 'their council', the relationship had degenerated into bitterness.¹ The group of Leicester Lollards investigated by William Courtenay in 1389 believed that it was a sin to bestow anything by way of charity on the friars,² and William Taylor, burnt at Smithfield in 1423, believed the friars' begging to be damnable.³ Lollards did not, however, simply object to fraternal abuses, they objected to the friars' very existence. As one Lollard tract explains, only three sects are necessary, sects corresponding to the three persons of the Trinity: lords to the Father, priests to the Son and the common people to the Holy Ghost.⁴ The private religions had no right to exist because they could not be grounded in the gospel.⁵ This attitude is clearly expressed by the HTY group (T110/4-7), but the B version contains no criticism of friars whatsoever. For a Lollard text this was unusual, and there is one passage which suggests that such omissions may perhaps

1. See Workman ii.262; Wyclif, *Triologus* pp.374, 445.

2. *MV* p.164.

3. *FZ* p.413.

4. MS CUL Ff.6.2. f.1^v.

5. See Hudson, *PR* p.349; Wyclif, *Polemical Works* p.17.

have been deliberate. As part of the general introduction to the commentary in both versions, we are told that God has bidden us to keep these commandments on pain of damnation and, further, that he may not forget this punishment. The HTY version then goes on to say 'ne freris ne preieres may bowe him fro þis purpos' (T3/6-7), but the B version reads simply 'Ne no þyng may bowe him fro his purpos' (B3/6-7). Since the T version is clearly the *difficilior lectio* it seems clear that T has the original reading. Assuming B's alteration to be deliberate, this would then suggest that B himself may perhaps have been a friar.¹

1. For evidence that some friars did continue to support Wyclif even after the break caused by his views on the eucharist see note to T109/4, and the discussion in Hudson, *PR* p.384 and note.

THE DATES OF THE COMMENTARIES

In our consideration of the possible dates of these two versions, we will deal first with the HTY group. As far as the date *post quem* is concerned the antagonism towards friars suggests a date after 1381. The close relationship to Wyclif's works, and especially to his views on dominion, suggests a comparatively early date, although this is not of course conclusive. As regards the date *ante quem*, the continually expressed hope for the support of the secular power may perhaps suggest a date before 1410.

The main evidence for dating this version, however, comes from a series of comments on the possible burning of heretics. During the discussion of the fifth commandment in a passage which is shared by the B version, we are told that any man who fails to object to murder (including the failure to provide spiritual sustenance) consents to manslaughter and is himself a manslayer. The text then carries on:

And herfore þe prophetis of þe Olde Lawe telden men
perels til þei suffriden deep and for þis cause

apostolis of *Crist* weren martrid; *and* we shulden if
we weren trewe men, but cowardise *and* defaut of loue
of oure God makip vs to sterte abak as traitours don.

(T106/6-107/1, cf. B106/6-107/1)

This is the only mention of the death penalty to occur in all four manuscripts, but a similar reference occurs in the HTY group alone as part of the commentary on the fourth commandment (i.e. as part of the discussion of one's relationship with one's spiritual father) where we are told that

Me þinkip þat we shulden seie, to suffre herfor
deep, þat if þi Pope, þi bisshop, þi parsoun or
wiker be knowun of þee to draw in þe deuelis sok,
worshipe him not as siche

(T98/10-99/1)

Both these references are, however, a little too vague to be of definite help to us. They *might* be critical references to the general willingness of Lollards to recant whenever threatened with the death penalty (an approach whose perceived morality is discussed in some detail by Anne Hudson)¹, in which case they would imply a date post 1401. On the other hand, they might just as easily be examples of those anticipatory references to the death penalty which occur so frequently before 1401, presumably at least in part because of the well-known use of burning

1. Hudson, *PR* pp.158-9.

both in Ireland¹ and on the continent (the 1397 petition of the Bishops to parliament requesting such a penalty refers to the fact that in other Christian countries, 'quant aucuns sont condempnez par leglise de crime de heresie ils sont tantost liurez a seculer iuggement pour estre mys a mort').² Anne Hudson cites, for example, references to burning which occur in the *Opus Arduum*, a text which shows clear evidence of having been written in 1390.³ As both Lechler and Wilks point out, Wyclif himself frequently refers to the possibility of martyrdom.⁴ We have a more genuine cause for martyrdom nowadays if we wish, he tells us, than had the many saints who have been canonised by the Church.⁵ Moreover, he clearly regards the possibility of such a martyrdom as being extremely real. 'We have,' he says 'only to preach persistently the law of Christ in the hearing of rich and worldly prelates, and instantly we shall have a flourishing martyrdom, if we hold out in faith and in patience.'⁶ In fact Wyclif gives his fear of such a fate as his reason for failing to appear before the Archbishop in St. Paul's in January 1378. He

1. See Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power', p.4 note 2.

2. Richardson and Sayles (eds.), 'Parliamentary Documents from Formularies', p.154.

3. Hudson, *PR* pp.15-16.

4. See Lechler p.331; Wilks, 'Wyclif and the Great Persecution', pp.40-1.

5. *DCD* ii.274.

6. Lechler p.417.

had heard, he said, that Sudbury had quoted the word of Christ given in John 16:16. 'A little while and you see me no more; again a little while and you will see me', words which he took as implying that he was about to die. People had been instructed, he believed, that it would be a work of alms-giving ('elemosina') if he were to be done away with 'combustione, occisione vel morte alia'.¹

The HTY group, in addition, contains a more specific reference, also during the discussion of the fifth commandment, when the writer refers to the 'wickid wille' of the friars 'þat was now late shewed at Londoun and Lyncolun to breme trewe prestis for þes prestis grauntiden þe treupe of þe Gospel' (T109/5-7), a plan which was apparently frustrated by the intervention of noble lords. Anne Hudson, discussing Y, suggests that this must imply that the commentary dates from 'after 1401 and probably from after the Oldcastle revolt'.² Taking the passage to refer to an actual burning, she points out that there is no record of any such execution in Lincoln before the date of the revolt. However, as we have seen, no actual burnings took place. The writer is concerned, on the contrary, to make the point that the sin committed by the friars was just as great in spite of their failure to kill anyone: 'Ne mansleyng is neuer þe lesse þat

1. *De Veritate Sacre Scripture* i.374 and see also Workman i.308.

2. Hudson, *PR* p.5 and note.

God moeuyde lordis to lette þe wille of þes freris þat þei slown hem not' (T109/9-10). True, it is implied that the death penalty was a possibility, but, as we have seen, the idea of burning was in the air long before the 1401 act. And in fact, considerably before this, there was an incident in Lincoln to which the writer could have been referring. The register of Bishop Buckingham of Lincoln records action taken against William Swinderby, one of a group of Lollards active around Leicester in 1382.¹ On 5th March, the Bishop issued an order against a certain William the hermit from the chapel of St. John near Leicester, who had been preaching without authority errors contrary to the Catholic faith. Despite this injunction, Swinderby continued to preach over the Easter period, the rectors being apparently unable to stop him because he had the favour of the people. On 12th May Buckingham ordered the investigation of accusations brought against Swinderby by three friars. Swinderby was examined at Lincoln. Sixteen points were brought against him and he abjured on 11th July after which he left the Leicester district and moved westward. During the years 1389-91 Swinderby came into conflict with John Trefnant Bishop of Hereford and, when he appeared before Trefnant in 1390, he gave the following account of what happened towards the end of his earlier examination:

1. For the proceedings against Swinderby, see LAO, Episcopal Register xii, f.236^v and ff.242^r-244^r; Knighton ii.192-7; McFarlane (1952), p.107ff.; Hudson *PR* p.74; Walsingham, *HA* ii.55.

Bot when I schulde hafe made my purgacyon ther
stoden forthe fyfe freres or mopoursyewyng
bysyle and cryinge, with many an other frere
with great instance, to gif ye dome upon my to
berne my, and bouhten dry wode byfore, as men
tolden in that towne.¹

According to Swinderby, he only revoked the conclusions which he was accused of promulgating 'for dryde of deth and fleyschly consail'. Swinderby records the presence in Lincoln, at the time, of the Duke of Lancaster, the earl of Derby and 'other mony grete' and, according to Knighton, the Duke intervened on Swinderby's behalf requesting that this particular punishment should be replaced by another.² As Peter McNiven says, neither the friars nor Swinderby 'appear to have regarded capital punishment for heresy as specifically contrary to the law of the land.'³

I have been unable to discover any account of a similar event taking place in London. Commentators such as McFarlane and Thomson suggest that Lollardy was not particularly prevalent in London.⁴ On the other hand, much of the earliest action against Wyclif and his followers

1. Hereford Register, Trefnant, pp.238-239.

2. Knighton ii.193.

3. McNiven p.45.

4. McFarlane (1952), pp.123-4; Thomson, 'Clergy and Laity in London, 1376-1531', (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1960), p.335.

did in fact take place in London, and, as we have already seen, in some of it at least the friars were deeply involved. Wyclif himself links London and Lincoln together as being places where friars were particularly active against Lollards. As he says in the *Triologus* the friars 'tam Londoniis quam Lincolniae laborant assidue ad sacerdotes fideles et pauperes extinguendum' and Lechler concludes from this and from a letter of thanks written by the Archbishop that Robert Braybrook of London was as zealous as John Buckingham in his action against Lollards.¹ Moreover *De Blasphemia* contains a specific reference to an attempt by at least one London friar to have a heretic burnt without trial. Discussing the recent Peasants' Revolt and the murder of Archbishop Sudbury, Wyclif observes that the punishment inflicted by the people, though deserved, was excessive, giving as one of his reasons the fact that the Archbishop was executed without due process of justice. He adds, however, that a certain London friar has anticipated ('prophetavit') this action 'cum asseruit publice hominem sine responso conburendum tanquam hereticum', an event which must have taken place before Sudbury's death in 1381.² It is thus clear

1. *Triologus* p.379, and see Lechler p.399.

2. *De Blasphemia* p.197.

that references to burnings in both London and Lincoln were current from a very early date and certainly cannot be taken to imply a date after *De Heretico Comburendo*.

In fact the HTY version clearly belongs to that period when, as H.G. Richardson puts it, 'Lollards, or at least instructed Lollards, spoke of death by burning as inflicted by the pope and his cardinals on those who maintained God's law, not as a penalty exacted in England.'¹ As the HTY group says as part of its discussion of the seventh commandment:

Also bi þe Popis lawe men ben ofte brent for
þei susteynen þe lawe þat Ihesu Crist 3af, as
who seip þat þe Pope shulde not þus be lord bi
title of Crist shal be brent anoon.

(T129/4-7)

Given that this passage immediately follows a comment on the English use of the death penalty for theft ('For bi þe lawe of Englonð men ben hanged for þeft for a litel þing'), it is difficult to believe that the writer would have failed to refer to the similar use of the death penalty for heresy, had *De Heretico Comburendo* been on the statute book. It therefore seems likely that the HTY version was written before 1401.

1. Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power', p.20.

Determining the date of the B version is somewhat more difficult. Both the closeness to Wycliffite views in general and more particularly the use of material on dominion may perhaps suggest an early date, while the hopes for action by the lay power suggest a date before 1410. The discussion of the fourth commandment contains a reference to the death of children in the Plague which is shared with the DI version (B89/14-17), but the so-called 'Children's Plague' occurred in 1361-2 and, although the outbreaks of 1369 and 1379 also tended to affect children, all these are rather too early to be helpful.¹

A date before 1407 is perhaps suggested by a passage from B's prologue which informs us that lords and ladies should teach the commandments to their children and servants and to 'lewed peple þat conneþ no letterure.' (B9/3-8). Emphasis on teaching was, as we have seen, a characteristic of Lollardy. One of the articles cited against the Northampton Lollards who appeared before Bishop Buckingham in 1393 was that of believing that it was permissible for every Christian to inform his brethren concerning the ten commandments and the gospels and that every head of household was responsible for himself and the deeds of his family.² Margaret Aston, in her discussion of the B version, identifies

1. McKisack p.331-2.

2. McHardy, A.K., 'Bishop Buckingham and the Lollards of the Lincoln Diocese', p.144.

the promotion of such household practices with Lollardy.¹ From the point of view of date, however, what is interesting about this particular passage is not what it says but what it fails to say. There is no suggestion that such teaching might be liable to arouse disapproval. In this respect it is interesting to compare the B passage with the similar discussion which occurs in *Dives and Pauper* where Dives observes that 'now men seyn þat þer schulde no lewyd folc entrymettyn hem of Godis lawe ne of þe gospel ne of holy writ, neyþer to connyn it ne to techyn it', an argument refuted by Pauper.² This passage appears either to result from or to anticipate Arundel's Constitutions of 1407-9 and the lack of such material in B, while not of course conclusive, may appear to suggest a somewhat earlier date for this version.

1. Aston, 'Lollards and Images', p.153, note 64.

2. *DPI*.i.327, *Cap.* xi/3-5.

RELATED COMMANDMENTS COMMENTARIES

The following discussion is concerned with the possible relationships of the various late Middle English prose commandments commentaries to the commentaries found in the B/HTY group.¹ The list is divided into groups according to the categories established by Martin, viz. rhetorical, discursive and mixed.² In the rhetorical versions the treatment of each commandment generally begins with a statement of the commandment itself followed by a query (e.g. 'Who brekyth this heeste?'). The answer to this (a list of *breakers*) leads to further questions (e.g. 'Why mycheris', 'Why robbers', 'Why extorcioners') each of which receives a brief answer (e.g. 'Why mycheris. for þei stelen *pruely*').³ Trinities of breakers are listed for each commandment. The discursive versions have a much more flexible structure, and are often considerably longer, being, as Martin has observed, both digressive and exegetical.⁴ Mixed discursive/rhetorical versions are, as their name suggests, a combination of these two types.

I have not dealt with commentaries, which do not, as far as I can tell, bear any relationship to the BHTY group. Thus I have not dealt

1. I am particularly grateful to Dr. A.I. Doyle, without whose help the list of manuscripts containing such commentaries would have been considerably shorter.

2. For these definitions see Martin, pp.202-3, 205-6 and 211.

3. Bühler, ed., 'The Middle English Texts of Morgan MS 861', p.691.

4. Martin, pp.205-6.

with the second of Y's commentaries, nor with the Lacy versions viz. the commentary found in MS St. John's College Oxford 94 which has been edited by Royster, nor with that found in MS Ashmole 751 which appears to be a shorter version of this. Nor have I dealt with the Rolle versions contained in MSS Hatton 12 and Lincoln Cathedral 91; nor with the version contained in MSS Cambridge University Library Bb.14.54 and Bodl. Laud Misc. 656 (basically a collection of biblical supporting material). The commentaries contained in MSS Pembroke College Cambridge 285, Glasgow Hunterian 512 and British Library Additional 10036 are all very short - little more than lists - and therefore difficult to classify. As far as I can tell, the version contained in the *Lanterne of List* is not directly related to the B or the HTY versions, although it naturally deals with topics similar to those contained in the HTY group.

Group I: Rhetorical Versions (R)

Type RI

(M) Morgan 861 ff.1^r-3^v (C.Bühler (ed.), 'The Middle English Texts of Morgan 861', *PMLA* 69 (1954), pp.686-92)

(Tc₁) Trinity College Dublin 70 ff.174^v-181^r

Type RIIa

(Rw₁) Bodl. Rawlinson C.209 ff.2^r-7^r (imperfect)

Type RIIf

(Ca₁) Cambridge University Library Ii.6.43 ff.3^r-9^v

Type RIII

(N₁) New College Oxford 67 ff.1^v-2^r

(Ty) Trinity College Oxford 86 f.54^v (fragment)

Type RIV

(Ed₁) Edinburgh University Library 93, ff.1^r-3^v (imperfect)

Type RVa

(Ad₁) British Library Additional 28026 ff.187^{ra}-187^{vb}

Type RVb

(Lm₁) Bodl. Laud Misc. 699 ff.78^r-79^v

Type RVc

(Wi) Dr. Williams Library Ancillary 3 ff.130^{ra}-131^{ra}

Type RVd

(Bo₁) Bodl. Bodley 938 ff.16^r-17^v

(Lm₂) Bodl. Laud Misc. 30 ff.193^v-195^v

Type RVI

(Tn) Bodl. Tanner 336 ff.141^r-145^v

Type RVII

(Ro₁) British Library Royal 18.A.X ff.83^r-85^r (imperfect)

(Rw₂) Bodl. Rawlinson C.288 ff.92^r-95^r

Group 2 Discursive Versions (D)

Type DI

(Ar₁) British Library Arundel 286 ff.179^r-191^v (abbreviated)

(Ca₂) Cambridge University Library Kk.1.3. item 22 (imperfect)

(Ha₁) British Library Harley 218 ff.159^r-167^r

(Ha₂) British Library Harley 2250 ff.88^r-91^v

(Ha₃) British Library Harley 2346 ff.34^r-47^v

(Hn) Huntington HM 744 ff.13^v-23^v

(Lb) Leeds University Brotherton Collection 501 ff.74^v-81^r

(Lm₃) Bodl. Laud Misc. 210 ff.147^r-147^v (imperfect)

(Lm₄) Bodl. Laud Misc. 524 ff.11^r-17^v

(Pr) Garrett 143 (Princeton University Deposit 1459) ff.1^r-21^v

(Ro₂) British Library Royal 17.A.XXVI ff.4^r-22^r

(Rw₃) Bodl. Rawlinson A.381 ff.107^r-111^v

(Rw₄) Bodl. Rawlinson A.423 ff.1^r-6^v (imperfect)

(S) British Library Additional 22283 (the Simeon MS) ff.92^r-93^v (W.N. Francis (ed.), *Book of Vices and Virtues, EETS, OS* 217 (1942), Appendix i.316-33)

(Si) Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge 74 ff.181^r-189^v

(So) London Society of Antiquaries 687 pp.412-30

(St) Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève Paris 3390 ff.1^r-23^v

- (Tc₂) Trinity College Dublin 69 ff.79^r-82^v
(U) University College Oxford 97 ff.85^r-93^v
(Ve) British Library Cotton Vespasian A.XXIII ff.107^r-115^v
(W) Westminster School 3 ff.73^r-88^r

Type DII

- (Bo₂) Bodl. Bodley 789 ff.108^v-123^r (T.Arnold (ed.), *Select English Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford, 1869-71) iii.82-92)

Type DIII

- (G₁) Glasgow University General 223 ff.213^r-217^r

Type DIV

- (Do₁) Bodl. Douce 246 ff.101^v-103^v

Type DV

- (Ha₄) British Library Harley 2406 ff.1^r-3^r

Type DVI

Pore Caitif

Type DVII

- (Ad₂) British Library Additional 27592 ff. 42^r-45^v
(Bo₃) Bodl. Bodley 85 ff.110^r-122^r
(Ca₃) Cambridge University Library Nn.4.12 ff. 3^r-7^v
(Hu) Glasgow University Hunterian 472 ff.71^v-76^v

Type DVIII

(Em) Emmanuel College Cambridge 246 ff.59^v-62^v

Type DIX

(Do₂) Bodl. Douce 274 ff.1^r-7^v

Type DX

(Ha₅) British Library Harley 211 ff.47^r-63^v

(Lm₅) Bodl. Laud Misc. 23 ff.3^r-23^r

(Sa) St. Albans Cathedral Library Catechetica ff.5^v-43^v

(Ti) British Library Cotton Titus D XIX ff.120^r-147^r

Type DXI

(Lm₆) Bodl. Laud Misc. 524 ff.18^r-18^v

Group 3: Mixed Discursive/Rhetorical Versions (DR)

Type DRI

(Ed₂) Edinburgh University Library 93 ff.4^r-10^v

(Tr) Trinity College Cambridge R.3.21 ff.2^{vb}-6^{ra}

Type DRII

(L) Lambeth 408 ff.6^v-11^r (T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth
(eds.), *The Lay Folks Catechism, EETS, os* 118 (1901,
Kraus repr. 1975), pp.33-57)

Type DRIII

- (J) John Rylands University Library of Manchester, English 85 ff.2^v-8^v (A.L. Kellogg and E.W. Talbert (eds.), 'The Wyclifite *Pater Noster* and *Ten Commandments*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1960), pp.371-6)

Because all these texts are ten commandments commentaries, there is naturally a considerable overlap of subject matter, including the use of supporting quotations, both from the Bible and from other authorities. This is confusing and can sometimes give the impression of a relationship where none may, in fact, exist. As Martin observes, 'analogous references, and vaguely similar content, are of little value in establishing textual connections'.¹ I have therefore attempted to base my suggestions of relationships on more definite textual evidence, if possible on close verbal correspondence.

Rhetorical Versions

The various rhetorical versions are all closely inter-connected and representatives of all except RVII have been discussed by Martin. Version RI has been edited by Bühler, and version RII by Martin. The general pattern of the rhetorical versions has been outlined above, but it

1. Martin, pp.210-11.

may be helpful to quote the commentary on the first commandment as it appears in RI:

Who brekith þis commaundement. proude
men. worldly men. and fleischly men. ¶Why proude men. for
þei maken þe feend her god. as Iob seiþ in þe .xlj. c^o,
The deuyl is prince ouer alle þe children of pride.
Why worldly men. for þei maken worldly goodys [?her god?].
as Poul seiþ to Effesices þe .v. c^o. an auerouse man
is a seruaunt of mawmentis. ¶Why fleischly men. for þei
maken her belyes her god. as Poul seid to Philipenses .iiij.
c^o, þer ben many þat walken þat ben enemyes of
Cristis Cros whoos end is deef. and her bely is her god.

(Bühler p.689)

The RI and RII commentaries share the same form but differ in their treatment of the eighth commandment, RI using supporting quotations from Ecclesiastes and Isaiah whereas RII uses quotations from Acts and Paul to Timothy. RI has a brief prologue, while RIIf contains short passages relating the first three commandments to the three members of the Trinity and the last seven to our 'euen cristen'. The version contained in RIII corresponds to that found in RI and RII but with the omission of all Biblical supporting material.¹

The RIV version lacks both the statement of the commandment and the question 'Who brekip', beginning each discussion simply with a statement of breakers e.g. 'And so vnkynde men, froward men & rebel men breken þis heste'.

1. N₁ does, however, at least in the beginning, include the relevant Biblical references in the margin.

The RV versions list all the commandments first and follow these with material about breakers. RVa has a statement instead of the 'Who brekith' question (eg. 'Pese men breken þe firste comaundement') and follows the citation of the second commandment with a quotation from Matthew 5:37. RVc has brief commentaries following the first, second and third commandments. RVd resembles RVa and b in form but with deliberate shortening of the quotations of the commandments (the Bo₁ commentary begins 'Here bigymen þe comaundementis of God schortly declarid').

The RVI version is clearly descended from a version corresponding in form to RV, but from one with somewhat fuller material (it includes biblical supporting quotations not found in RV). The RVI version has, however, lost the initial list of commandments and, from the fifth commandment onwards, it incorporates the statement of the commandment into the body of the text, following this by a statement about breakers corresponding to that found in RIV, i.e., as Martin suggests, RVI appears to be a conflation of two different types of rhetorical version.¹

RVII has the same format as the RI/RII group, but with slightly shorter versions of the commandments. It is distinctive in that its supporting biblical quotations are generally longer than the norm and are given in both Latin and English, and in that it does not necessarily

1. See Martin p.205, the discussion of the manuscript he refers to as Tn₁.

confine itself to one Biblical supporting quotation per category of breaker. The actual quotations are also occasionally different from those of the other rhetorical versions.

The lists of breakers occasionally vary. Thus, while the majority of versions list the breakers of the sixth commandment as adulterers, fornicators and 'holours', the RVII version combines fornicators and 'holours' and has as its third definition deadly sinners who break the holy bond of matrimony between Christ and his soul i.e. indulge in spiritual lechery.

Kellogg and Talbert have suggested that what they term 'the shorter commentary' as it appears in Rylands English 85 (i.e., according to my classification, DRIII) is an abbreviation of the discursive commentary as it appears in DII (i.e. in Bo₂). As this would imply that the related rhetorical commentaries were a further abbreviation (DRIII is basically a rhetorical version with additional material), it will be appropriate to deal with this question now. As far as the specific relationship between DII and DRIII's rhetorical material is concerned, Kellog and Talbert's argument may be partially convincing if we restrict our consideration to the discussion of the first commandment. Two of the three biblical quotations which appear in the rhetorical section of DRIII's first commandment discussion (and in RI) also appear in DII (although the quotation from Job is missing). This degree of correspondence does not, however, persist throughout the commentary; the DRIII and DII commentaries on the second commandment share only one biblical quotation and those on the third and fourth none.

In fact, none of the extant discursive versions contains anything like a full list of breakers and the quotations which go with them as they appear in the rhetorical versions. It would require a very persistent scribe to go through any of the extant discursive versions sorting out lists of breakers and he would, in addition, have had to supply the vast majority of the supporting quotations. It is, therefore, in many ways, easier to imagine that the rhetorical versions, with their trinities of breakers, were gradually expanded and that, in the process, certain categories of breakers and many of the quotations were lost as other sections of the discussion received more emphasis. Certainly Kellogg and Talbert's argument that the lack of full Biblical quotations in DRII (and in the related rhetorical commentaries) implies that such versions must have been drawn from one of the discursive versions rather than *vice versa* is less than convincing given that one rhetorical version (RVII) does contain very full biblical quotations. The RVII version does appear, in fact, to be quite a convincing example of the type of source material from which discursive commentaries could have developed, and it is worth quoting the first section of its commentary on the fifth commandment as an illustration of this:

Who brekiþ þe fifþe *commaundement*? Enuyous men, wrapfull
men and couetouse men. Why enuyous men? For þei haten
or bacbiten her breþeren. For Johun seiþ in his first pistell,
iiij *capitulo*, 'Eche man þat hateþ his brother is a manqueller.'
'*Omnis qui odit fratrem suum homicida est.*' Et in iiij
capitulo, 'He þat seiþ he loueþ Godd and hatip his broþer is
a lier.' 'Si quis dixerit *quam* deum diligo (*sic*) *et fratrem*
suum odit, mendax est. Whi wrapfull men? For þei smyten or

sleen her briþeren and Crist seide to Petir in M^l xxvj
capitulo, 'He þat takeþ veniaunce bi swerd bi swerd schall
be perissche.' 'Omnes enim qui acceperunt gladium
gladio...' Iterum, Apoc xiiij *capitulo*, 'Qui in gladio
occiderit oportet eum gladio occidi; hic est paciencia
et fides *sanctorum*.' Iterum ge.ix, 'Quicumque effunderit
sanguinem' etc.

(Ro₁ f.83^v)

It seems likely that there may originally have been rhetorical versions in Latin, and that the RVII version represents an intermediate state when the translation into English had been completed but the Latin versions of the Biblical quotations had not yet been discarded (possibly as a matter of principle: as the Royster commentary says: 'neuer man ne woman lete departe þe engleliche from þe latyn, for diuers causes þat been good & lawful to my felynge').¹

Discursive Version I (DI)

The DI version may be considered to be exemplified by the text which is to be found in the Simeon manuscript (S) as printed in the *Book of Vices and Virtues*. Certain short sections of this commentary echo material found in Wyclif, *Sermones* i,² but the passages concerned

1. Royster, ed., p.9.

2. See e.g. *BVV* p.318/15-18, *Sermones* i.90/23-25; *BVV* p.325/29-33, *Sermones* i.118/19-22.

are in no way heretical and it seems safe to agree with Kellogg and Talbert that the subject matter of this version is orthodox.¹ The vexed question of images receives no attention and the only criticism of members of the clergy is a section on lecherous priests (*BVV* p.327/1ff.). (The latter is, however, missing from some versions of DI viz. *Rw*₃, *Rw*₄ and So, possibly as the result of expurgation). The commentary has a prologue (*incipit* 'Alle maner of men. schulden holde Godes biddynge' *explicit* 'And so þise þreo. and seuene: maken ten Comaundemens' (*BVV* p.317/8 and 33-4)) which refers to Christ's instruction to keep the commandments (Matthew 19:17), tells us that we should obey God because he is our lord and also for love, and establishes the ten-fold and two-fold division. The epilogue recaps this two-fold division and promises ('I. dar wel seye' (*BVV* p.333/16)) that those who keep the commandments will go to heaven. Each section of the commentary normally begins with a short Latin quotation of the commandment in question, followed by a somewhat fuller version in English. The subsequent discussion often takes the form of the exegesis of Latin biblical quotations. Apart from this, the discussion of each commandment follows no set pattern, although there is a general tendency to divide topics into threes: three types of men who break the first commandment, three conditions for swearing, three ways of

1. Kellogg and Talbert p.365.

spending the sabbath etc.

The popularity of this commentary is clear from the number of extant copies and from its use in various sermon collections, notably in those contained in MSS Trinity College Dublin 241, St. John's College Cambridge G.22 and Cambridge University Library Additional 5338. Material drawn from the DI commentary on the first commandment also appear in the Ross sermons and in the sermons found in MS Shrewsbury School III. The decalogue material which appears in the sermon collections is discussed by Spencer,¹ who suggests that the decalogue treatise used is that found in B. However, as the only B material to appear in these collections is that shared with DI, and as the sermon discussion of the first commandment corresponds much more closely to DI than to B, it is clear that the treatise being used is in fact DI.²

The majority of the DI commentaries are very closely connected and offer, as Kellogg and Talbert have pointed out, a quite consistent text.³ A number do, however, display certain noticeable variations. Thus, for example, Ha₂ and Ve differ from the usual DI version in their prologues, which describe life as a pilgrimage leading either to heaven or hell, with the commandments as a necessary guide. Si, which also has a different

1. Spencer (1993), pp.225-6, 455 nn.112-14, 475 n.39, 489 n.122.

2. For the lack of first commandment correspondence between the sermon material and B see Spencer pp.310-11.

3. Kellogg and Talbert p.366.

prologue, divides the commentary into two sermons based on the two-fold division, and shares with Ca₂, Lm₃ and Ve additional material, not in the DI norm, on the obligations of the preacher to teach and of his congregation to listen. Lb's prologue, while corresponding in subject matter and clearly closely related to that of the DI norm, nevertheless differs somewhat in wording,¹ and Lb has, in addition, several independent passages, e.g. a diatribe against lechery, and a passage warning against giving alms to various unworthy recipients, including pardoners and 'neyce neue fundacions'. Lb's commentary on the ninth commandment, which deals with the ill-effects of covetousness in various walks of life, is completely independent of the DI norm, while his tenth commandment commentary combines material from the DI discussions of both the ninth and tenth commandments.

As we have seen, the DI version shows some evidence of the three-fold division which is found in the rhetorical versions. Thus the DI commentary deals with three types of people who break the first commandment (those who follow the flesh, the world and the fiend, cf. *BVV* p.318 and compare with the RI passage quoted above); three types of manslaughter (by hand, by tongue and by heart); three types of theft (by robbery/stealing, by false use of the law, and by these two together); and three types of bearing false witness (in word, in deed and in these two together). Further commandments give a more positive slant to the three types. Thus, for example, the three ways of spending the Sabbath listed in the DI discussion of the third commandment (thinking of God,

1. For the initial words of the Lb prologue, see the discussion by Pickering, 'Brotherton Collection MS 501', p.158.

praying to God, and doing works of mercy (*BVV* pp.322-3)) bear an obvious relationship to the RI definition of the three types of breakers as 'men þat þenken not on God hertely. ne p[r]eyde Him not deuoutly. and don not þe werkys of mercy iustly.' (Bühler p.690)). One of the rhetorical versions, RVb, has a prologue (*incipit* 'All men scholyn kepe the commaundementes' *explicit* 'vppon payne of euerlastyng dampnacioun') which is close in argument and to some extent in wording to the DI prologue, including, as well as the initial section quoting Christ, a section on the handing over to Moses of the two tablets of stone (cf. *BVV* p.317/27ff.).

However, not all the three-fold divisions found in DI correspond closely to the definitions of breakers as they appear in the extant rhetorical versions, and it is also true that the DI commentaries on certain commandments (e.g. the ninth and tenth) do not display the three-fold definition, while the definitions which do exist could sometimes have been obtained from other sources (in the case of DI's commentary on the first commandment, for instance, from Wyclif). The most that can be said, therefore, is that the rhetorical versions provide a possible source for the discursive versions in general (both Latin and English) but that lack of more definite textual evidence, such as a close verbal correspondence, makes it impossible to establish any definite links between any of the extant rhetorical and discursive versions.

Both our commandments commentaries, i.e. both the B and the HTY versions, show clear evidence of a relationship with the usual DI version and with the different but related version to be found in Lb. Both share passages of word-for-word correspondence with the usual DI prologue

(not found in Lb) and both also share certain passages of Lb's ninth commandment discussion (not found in the DI norm). While the HTY version's sections of word for word correspondence with DI are confined to these passages, however, word-for-word correspondence between B and DI persists throughout the commentary, and such correspondences are recorded in the notes. The fact that the B version's relationship with DI is so much more extensive might perhaps appear to suggest that the HTY compiler might have obtained his DI material from B, omitting certain passages. If this were the case, however, we would expect a far greater degree of overlap between the HTY and DI versions than does, in fact, exist in the body of the commentary. It would be unlikely that the HTY compiler would so consistently omit material which appears in both B and DI, while consistently retaining B's independent material; the following examples of transition between the two are typical (material which shows word-for-word correspondence with HTY is underlined; material which shows word for word correspondence with DI is in italics):

- a) And herfore yf þou wolt
be holde trewe of tunge. auyse þe þat þou be discrete in
þy wordes and speke nouȝt bot trowþe or þat þou mayste
performe; and whanne þy wyse worde ys yspoke of þyn
herte, be aboute to fulfille it, and make þe trewe man.
Me þynkeþ þat þre causes scholde meue ous to
kepe þis commaundement and to take þe name of God wiþ
gret worschep and drede. On cause ys for þer was neuer
man ne womman þat dyde synne þat myȝte be saue bot in

vertu of his name, ne neuere schal be

(B54/10-55/10 (unemended), cf. *BVV* p.321/2 ff)

- b) Pledynge and scornynge ys harde to do wel; and no man dop
his lefffullyche bot yf he kepe charite to him þat he pledeþ
wiþ and him þat he scorneþ. as yf he trowe to purge him
of his olde synne by þis. It is lefful to plede wiþ him
or scorne him syþ at þe barre of Crist pledyde hys
seynt3, and Crist himself scorneþ. as þe Salme seyþ. Bot
lyenge openlyche asenseyþ trowþe and herfore Crist himself
may nou3t lye. for he loueþ it nou3t bot hateþ.

*Bot for to knowe þis commaundement þe betere 3e schulle
vnderstonde þat a man may bere false wytnesse asens his
neyzebores in þre maneres, þat is to seye in worde, in dede, and
in þes boþe togedere. In worde a man or womman bereþ
fals wytnesse whanne he makeþ lesynges of him to byreue
him of his goode name or fame, as some yhered for
mede or for 3eftes or elles for hate or enuye bereþ fals
wytnesse asenst here neyzebores*

(B140/2-141/8, cf. *BVV* p.329/38-330/6)

Further passages of joint B/DI material which do not appear in HTY include the following: B26/4ff. (cf. *BVV* p.319/5ff.), B76/5ff. (cf. *BVV* p.322/6ff.), B88/9ff. (cf. *BVV* p.324/33ff.).

It thus seems likely that any link between HTY and the DI version predated B, and that the B compiler then went on to make his own independent use of DI, something which may have been suggested to him by the similarities of the DI and HTY prologues. It also seems clear that HTY (or possibly an earlier version of this commentary) may be considered to be B's primary source (he begins the discussion of each commandment with the use of HTY material), and that his DI material

may be considered an addition. It thus does not appear that B took an orthodox commentary and added unorthodox material, but rather that he took an unorthodox commentary and added orthodox material. Material drawn neither from DI nor from the HTY version is used by B during his discussion of the first commandment, notably the section on images discussed above and various passages of material from the Fathers. It is possible that the B compiler originally had a more ambitious project in mind, involving the use of material from a number of sources, but in fact, from the beginning of the commentary on the second table, his material is drawn almost entirely from DI and HTY.

The HTY relationship to DI is, as we have seen, more restricted. The HTY version includes the whole of the material to be found in the prologue of the DI norm, corresponding passages being as follows (these passages are also found in B):

- i) The initial section explaining why the commandments should be kept *incipit* 'Alle maner of men' *explicit* 'kepe his word, þat is his biddyng' (T1/2-2/6 cf. *BVV* p.317/8-24).
- ii) The section on the two-fold division *incipit* 'Þes comaundementis, for þei shulden be freishlier *in mynde*' *explicit* 'and þes þre *and* seuene maken ten comaundmentis' (T7/4-11/4, cf. *BVV* p.317/24-35).

Although it is true that the initial section of the 'Alle maner of men' commentary appears in a number of versions, it is, nevertheless, the case that the HTY prologue is more closely related to the DI prologue than is the prologue of any other version (with the exception of B). These two

versions share subject matter which does not appear in the prologue of any other version. Only HTY and DI (and B) contain the section stating that the Jews keep these commandments. Only they contain the section beginning 'A lord 3if a kyng beede a þing to ben kept of alle his lyge men' (*BVV* p.317/16ff; T1/10ff.). There is thus no room for doubt about the relationship between the DI and HTY prologues.

The question of a possible relationship within the body of the commentary is, however, more problematic. Kellogg and Talbert have pointed out certain correspondences between the DI and Bodley 789 (DII) treatments of the first, second and third commandments, and have suggested, on the basis of this evidence, that Arnold may well have been correct in his belief that the DII version was derived from DI.¹ Since the passages cited from DII also occur in the HTY version (and, as I shall argue later, appear to be drawn from it) it will be appropriate to deal with them here. It is worth reproducing the passages cited by Kellogg and Talbert, with quotations from T replacing those from DII, and with the addition of a section drawn from the fourth commandment.

S:

T:

First Commandment

And so what þing enimon loueþ
most: þ^t þing he makeþ his god.
in as muche as in him is. beo

what kyn þing þat a man loueþ moost
he makeþ his god. And so, siþ
al synne stondiþ in loue, euery

1. See Kellogg and Talbert, pp.367-70, Arnold iii.82

hit wyf. or child. gold. or
seluer. or eny catel
Of þis hit foleweþ. þ^t þre manere
of folk suwen þe sturyng of oure þreo
enemys: whuche ben þe flesch. þe
world . and þe feond

As for þe furste. Lecherous. and
gloteros men þei loue more heore
wombes þer god. Of hem spekeþ seint
poul *Ad philipenses .iiij.* and seiþ
þus. *Multi ambulans...* þ^t is.
Monye gon. of þe wauche. ofte I. haue
I. seid to 3ou: and nou I. seye wepyng
...of whom heore wombe is heore god
...So þise men þ^t louen heore flesch.
and Lecherie. or gloterie. þei maken
heore wombe heore god....

þE secounde Maner of men. þ^t breken
þis comaundement. and also maken hem
false goddes: beon Couetouse men...
and þei maken such worldly goodes
synfully heore false goddes. For as
seint poul seiþ. *Ad ephesios. v.*
Avarus quod est ydolorum seruitus. þ^t
is. An Auerous mon. or a couetous: is
þrldam of maumetes. For such a
couetous mon.... doþ maumetrie... þE
þridde maner of men þ^t breken þis
comaundement. þat folewen þe fend:
beon þo þat setten heore hertes most
on worldly worschipes. and veyn glorie.

heed synne draweþ wiþ him brekyng
of þis heest.....

And siþ þer ben þre synnes, as
Seynt Ion seiþ, þat wlapen alle
oþer synnes..... on þre wise may
man breke þis commaundment.
þes þre synnes stonden in þes þre
loues: loue of fleish, and loue of
yzen, and pride of þis lijf.

And so glotouns and lecchours
breken þis heest
And herfor seiþ Poul þat þes greete
glotouns

maken her here bely her god, for
loue þat þei louen it and, bi þe
same skile, þes foule lecchours
maken her god þe taile eende of an
hoore.....

And on þis wise þe coueitous man
þat synneþ in coueitise of worldly
goodis makip his mawmet þes worldli
goodis. And herfore seiþ Poule þat
auarice of sicke þing is seruyse of
mawmetis, as to false goddis.

And myche more þe proud man makip
þe fend his god, siþ þe fend is kyng
of alle proude children
(T21/2-26/2)

and heiznesse of hemself.
(BVV p.318 l.8-p.319 l.7)

Second Commandment

And þefore crist him self in þe gospel
of seint matheu *capitulo v*: biddeþ þus.
Nolite iurare omnino ... Þat is. swere
3e not on alle manere ... But 3oure
word beo. 3e 3e. nay. nay. And þ^t. þat
is more ouur þis: hit is of euel. Þise
ben cristes wordes in the gospel...
And 3if 3e schullen swere: rule
3ow aftur þe lawe of god. in 3or
swerynge. For god him self techeth þe.
þ^t whon þ^u swerest: þu schalt kepe
þreo condiciuns. *Iurabis inquit in*
ueritate. in iudicio. & Iusticia.
Ieremye. iij capitulo. þat is.
þou schalt swere in treupe. in dom.
and in rihtwysnesse.
(BVV p.320/2-27)

Crist techiþ in þe Gospel to haue
oure word þus: '3he, 3he. Nay, nay',
wiþouten ony oth.....

For as God techiþ bi Ieremie þe
prophet, wiþ þre condiciouns is
leueful men to swere: first þat
þei ben war þat þei sweren treupe,
and þe cause of her oop be to
shewe rist and, siþ, þat in
iugement be it nede to swere.
(T52/6-54/2)

Third Commandment

þ^u schalt þenken hou god made þe
world of noust on a sunday. And hou
he sette wit. and wisdam on a sunday
in to eorþe. And þ^t he a ros fro deþ to
lyf. on a sunday. And þ^t schulde fere
3ou alle: and perse 3or hertes. And
vpon a sunday as clerkes seyn: schal
beo domes day.
(BVV p.322/34-p.323/1)

for on þe Sumeday God made þe
world; and also on þe Sumeday he
roos fro deþ to lijf; and on þe
Sumeday he sende þe Hooli Goost;
and, as clerkis seien, on þe
Sumeday shal be his last iugement
and rest in þe bliss of heuene.
(T81/13-82/2)

Fourth Commandment

But 3e schullen vnderstonde.
þ^t þe worschupe of fader and

And so worship in God

moder. stondeþ not al onliche
in bodili reuerence. as *in*
knelinge or in doinge doun of
hodes. þou3 þis beo good:

But hit stondeþ in dede. as
in caas. þi fader. and þi moder
ben comen to neode. or to mischeef
bi age. or bi auenture. þ^u art
bounde to helpen hem bi þi seruise.
boþe wiþ þi bodi and eke to
socoure hem w^t þi catel. And
sif þei beon in synne. or han
neode of gostly techyng or
cumfort: þ^u art holden sif þ^u
canst to techen hem. and to
cumforten hem.

(*BVV* p.324/32-p.325/2)

stondiþ not al *in*
loutyng ne *in* gretyng, ne knelyng
ne in siche worldly signes, ne it
forfendiþ not siche þingis *in*
mesure.

And so he worshipiþ his fader
as he shulde do þat helpiþ h[y]m
in nede boþe bodily *and* goostly.
And so þou shuldest worshiþe þi
fader *in* bodili help *and*
algate help hym goostly, for þerof
hap he nede.

(T88/2-8)

Discounting biblical quotation, there is very little word-for-word correspondence here and it may well be that the HTY compiler made use of the DI prologue in order to disguise his unorthodox material with an orthodox opening and that the relationship did not extend beyond this. On the other hand, there are certainly verbal echoes of DI in the HTY version, particularly in the commentaries on the third and fourth commandments, and , since it is clear that the HTY compiler did take orthodox material and rework it to give it a more unorthodox slant, the possibility that this orthodox material came from DI, while unproven, cannot be altogether discounted.

It is, in any case, interesting to compare the different uses to which the DI and HTY authors put very similar material. As we have seen, the DI and HTY treatment of the three breakers of the first commandment is in many respects very similar. Both the passages quoted above are orthodox; certainly neither is extreme in any way. The HTY version, however, then proceeds to expand this basic outline with a section of determinedly anti-clerical material. Each type of breaker is illustrated by an erring priest: the first by priests who preach more for worldly fame than for worship of God; the second by priests who preach more for worldly gain than for glory of God; and the third by priests who preach more to please their lusts than to please God (T p.30). Likewise, in the discussion of the fourth commandment, both HTY and DI define the second type of father as parish priest (Ro₂ f.13^r/14-15; T98/6),¹ a definition which conforms to that of the rhetorical versions. However, in the HTY version, the emphasis, far from being on the parishoner's duty to learn from his parish priest (this type of breaker, according to RI

1. S (i.e. the *BVV* version) has an error here, and this definition is lost.

'wollen take no goostly techinge', Bühler p.690)¹, is now, instead, on the duty of lords to point out the errors of their 'eldris in soule' (T100/1-2).

A similar process can be seen in the HTY discussion of the fifth commandment, part of which reads as follows:

But wite wel þis maundement is sib to many symes. For
Seynt Jon seiþ þat eche þat hatip his broþer is a mansleer,
she, ofte tymes more to blame þan he þat sleep his body,
for þe synne is more. And bi þis skile a bachiter is
a mansleer

(T105/2-6)

This passage deals with two types of manslaughter, by heart and by tongue, but it does not deal with the third type (usually the first to be discussed), i.e. manslaughter by hand (see, for example *BVV* p.326/17-18 where this is defined as smiting a man so that death follows by violence). The HTY passage which precedes this passage does, however, deal with one particular type of such manslaughter: capital punishment. Thus, once again, the HTY commentator adapts orthodox material to suit his own agenda.

The B/HTY fifth commandment commentary provides clear evidence of the fact that B's use of DI material was independent of and in addition to the use made by HTY of similar orthodox material. B shares the majority of the HTY material outlined above, including the orthodox section, with the result that, when he later turns to his DI source,

1. The instruction to learn from your priest has become obscure in many of the DI versions but is still present in, for example, *Rw*₄.

he repeats both the last two definitions of manslaughter and the quotation from John (B112/4ff., the wording of the two passages is, however, different).

It does not seem likely that any of the extant DI witnesses was the immediate source of the DI material found in either B or HTY.¹ However, the relationship between B/HTY and Lb is worth considering more closely. As we have seen, both the B and the HTY versions share material with Lb which does not appear in any of the other DI versions. Lb differs from the DI norm in that it includes a certain amount of somewhat less orthodox material, at least one section of which, the criticism of new foundations, appears to suggest Lollard affiliations. Lb's ninth commandment discussion is made up of material found in B/HTY (but not in the DI norm) together with some independent material. Lb does not, however, contain the prologue material which B/HTY shares with the DI norm and it is therefore clear that it could not be the source of HTY's DI prologue material. The Lb commentary on the ninth commandment is composed of the following (B/HTY

1. MSS Pr, Si and Ha₂ and Ve, for instance, all have completely different prologues, while So, Ar₁ and Tw₃ lack the passage which states that the Jews keep the commandments. None of these, therefore, could be the source of the HTY group's prologue material. The material on lecherous priests is missing in Rw₃, Rw₄ and So, while the reference to the Black Death is missing from Ca₂ and Ve, so none of these can be the source for B. The remainder of the manuscripts are ruled out by the fact that they lack readings which appear in the HTY prologue or in B as well as in other DI witnesses.

references are to T but, unless otherwise stated, passages also appear in B):

- 1) A section shared with B/HTY dealing with covetousness as the 'grounde of euyl hauyng' (Lb f.80^r/8-14, cf. T144/1-9).
- 2) An independent section, not found in B/HTY on the effects of covetousness in various walks of life (Lb f.80^r/14-36).
- 3) A final section, shared with B/HTY, explaining that it is permissible to covet 'vppon good manyr', but complaining about great men who covet lesser men's goods and dealing with the question of the right to charge rents and to impose 'mercymenty's' (Lb f.80^r/36-f.80^v/6, cf. T148/2-149/7).

It is difficult to decide whether the HTY version drew on an earlier version of Lb for this shared ninth commandment material or *vice versa*. It is certainly perfectly possible that an earlier version of Lb did share the prologue material of the DI norm and this earlier version could then have been the source for HTY's DI material. On the other hand, the somewhat extreme tone evident in this shared material is found only intermittently in Lb but is characteristic of the HTY version. Moreover, as we have already seen, the HTY version's treatment of the death penalty in the discussion of the fifth commandment shows almost exactly the same attitude towards punishment as is shown in the shared Lb/B/HTY ninth commandment material (*viz.* that it should be inflicted in a spirit of charity towards the recipient) and the passage therefore seems more likely to have developed as an integral part of the HTY commentary. The relevant Lb section is quoted below:

Mercymentyſ out of reſoun is a preuy ſpoyling, for
noman ſhulde mercye othyr but by wey of charite, to
amende *in* manyr the man þat is mercyed. And this may
be weel doon *in* many caas, but ſif it be do for
coueytyſe of the mercymnt *and* not for charyte, than it
is moche aſens this comaundement.

(Lb f.80^v/2-6; cf. T149/5-8)

At any rate, whether HTY drew on an earlier version of Lb or *vice versa*, it ſeems clear that the Lb ninth commandment material muſt be closer to the original than that of either B or HTY. The Lb diſcuſſion of the ninth commandment contains the following paſſage:

In this onſkylfull coueytyſe ſtondith moche pepyll,
as lordys that for coueytyſe of rentys and lordſhepis
ſellen ther mens lyuys and ſendyn many ſoulys to helle
to make her place redy. For ſuche coueytiſe Popis werryſyn,
pryſtyſ pletyn at Rome, clerkys ſom go to ſcole. For as
a lewde man treſpaſith aſens this comaundement to coueyte
wyth wronge anoþer man's hous, ſo theſ ſomoners coueytym
wyth wronge the hous of God and all the paryſh, *and* pletyn
longe therfor by many fals tytlys. I dare not ſey that
theſ religious þat coueytym ſo many cherchis to ſhere the
ſheep and lede away the wolles ben *in* this heſt of blameles (*sic*).
Idiotys therfor takym the ordyr of pryſthod, by fals
ſuggestyon to go to ſcole, and aftyr to leue in ydylneſ
and lewdenes all her lyf tyme. Laborers vppon lond lepyſyn
fro her werk to the crafte of pelours; God woot, not for
loue of kyngis ryſt, but for coueytyſe of ther good,
kyllyn her neybours. What makyth all this pletyng at Londone
and othyr placis, but for the pepyll for coueytyſe wolde
wrongefully dyſheryte his ney3bour of londe or godis, or
ellys the defendauzt wolde wrongfully holde his ney3bours
londe or gode for coueytiſe. And herto arun theſ
trauenterys of lawe redy on bothe ſydys, God woot, not

for loue of ryghtwysnes, but only for coueytyse: they rek
not who hath ryght, who haue wronge. Sysowris that somtyme
were chosyn of the wysest *and* trewest men in contreis for
to make ryghte knowyn fro wronge, now for coueytyse beth
corrupte for mede of the toon party and somtyme of bothe.
And so onnethe from the heyst state to the lowest shal a
man fynde o *man* that ne is smytyd by coueytyse in wyll *azens*
this comaundement. But sit is no drede that ne yt is lefull
to coueyte mens godis vppon good manyr.

(Lb f.80^r/14-37)

With the exception of the final sentence, neither the B nor the HTY
version contains this material. The HTY version does, however, contain
material which is apparently connected, in content if not in wording, with
the Lb material. Two passages drawn from HTY will illustrate the point:

- i) And no *man* may excuse *men* of religioun þat ne þei
breken þis nynþe maundement: as freris bi her beggyng
coueiten amys þe goodis of her neizboris, as her dede
sheweþ, þe chirche þat is dowed coueitip amys þe
rentis *and* þe housis of seculer men. Siþ God haþ forbode
hem to be siche lordis, as boþe þe Olde Lawe *and* þe Newe
beren witnesse, and siþ þis is so opun *azens* Hooli Writt
and so stefly defendid, it is eresie. And so comounly
prelati ben eretikis, *and* more deply þan opere men ben.
And siþ men þat consenten to hem ben eke eretikis, þe more
hedis of þe Chirche ben smyttid wiþ eresie *and*, bi þe lawe
of eresie, opere men boþe, siþ goostly dedis of siche
prelati blemyschen her doers *and* hem þat approueþ hem
And siþ it is *azens* þe maundement of God þus for to
coueite þe hous of þi neizbore, myche more it is
azens Goddis wille to coueite þus þe hous of þi God.
For chirche is not oonly hous to þi God, but it is
comoun hous to many of þi neizboris.

(T146/1-17)

- ii) *And* so symonye of chirches, of more or
of lesse, þat is doon bi þe Pope is so myche þe worse.
For he may not fordo resoun, ne maundement of God, ne he may not
grounde bi resoun siche *propring* of chirches. Siche bullis
ben eresies siþ þei ben fals techyng, contrarie to Goddis
lawe *and* stifly defendid, *and*, bi þis same skile, eche
bulle of a fals prest. Þis sentence seiþ Grosthed, *and*
draweþ it out of Greke. Lord, wheþer þe witt of God forbedde
siche coueitise of pore housis of men *and* not worse coueitise
of his owne hous þat shulde be Hooli Chirche!

(T147/6-16)

These two passages have an obvious connection with that section of the Lb passage quoted above which deals with clerical covetousness. In the Lb version, however, this discussion is part of a balanced account of covetousness as it appears in all sections of society. The various representatives of the clergy receive due consideration, but so do lords, labourers and lawyers, and the passage is a logical development of the assertion that covetousness is the root of *all* evils (T144/8-9, Lb f.80^r/13-14). The HTY discussion, on the other hand, is unbalanced, dealing only with the clergy, and it reads as if it were a digression. It is noticeable, moreover, that Lb's reference to the covetousness of lords for rents (passage quoted above 1.2) has been lost in the HTY version, becoming, instead, a reference to the covetousness of the endowed church (passage (i) above, ll.4-5). The reference to lords is, however, picked up both by Lb and by HTY in the final shared passage ('Soop it is þat lordis shal haue rentis of her tenauntis' etc. T149/1-2, cf. Lb f.80^r/42-3). It therefore

seems clear that Lb has the earlier version and that the HTY version is a later development, one in which the topic of clerical covetousness has been selected for expansion at the expense of any discussion of covetousness in the other estates. Thus, whatever the relationship between the two versions, this development illustrates the tendency of the HTY commentator to rewrite material in a more extreme form and, in particular, to emphasise the short-comings of the clergy.

The B version contains no material corresponding to the Lb/HTY passages on clerical covetousness, but has, instead, a passage drawn from the DI norm (*incipit* 'For as 3e seeþ coueytyse makeþ debates' *explicit* 'And þerfore coueyte 3e no mannes goedes wiþ wrong' (cf. *BVV* p.332)), followed by a short independent section quoting St. Gregory (B144/9-145/13). As a result, the Lb reference to the covetousness of lords for rents has been lost in B although B, like the other versions, picks up this reference in the final shared passage (B149/1). It seems possible that the witness used by B postdated the alteration of the material as it appears in Lb to the more extreme version found in HTY and that B turned to his DI witness because of a distaste for this extreme section, rejoining the HTY version at the next chapter mark (T148/1). It is worth noting that the first sentence of the independent HTY material contains a reference to begging friars and that, as we have already seen, the B version, while it shares with the HTY version much general criticism of the clergy, has no criticism whatsoever of the mendicant orders.

Discursive Version II (DII)

The B/HTY version, as has been noted above, has definite Lollard overtones and it is clearly closely related to type DII, the version contained in Bodley 789 (Bo₂) which has been edited by Arnold. DII has a brief prologue, corresponding to the first section of the B/HTY/DI prologue *incipit* 'Alle manere of men' *explicit* 'kep myn comaundementis'. The DII epilogue shows initial overlap with the HTY epilogue but consists mainly of an abridged translation of Deuteronomy 28. DII's relationship appears to be with HTY rather than B. Passages of DII material which appear in HTY but not in B are as follows:

- i) A section on priests who break the first commandment by preaching for fame, for worldly gain and to feed their lusts (T30/1-9, Arnold iii.83)
- ii) A section reminding the reader how God made the world, rose from death, sent the Holy Ghost, and will give his last judgement on a Sunday (T81/13-82/2, Arnold iii.85). This topic is also discussed in B, but B shows closer correspondence with DI than with the DII/HTY version (B77/17-22, *BVV* p.322/34-p.323/5).
- iii) A passage on prelates who sell men's sin for an annual rent (T108/1-10, Arnold iii.87).
- iv) A passage on spiritual lechery (T114/7-13, Arnold iii.87).
- v) A section stating that the ten commandments are the surest

law of all and that this law should be held and other laws despised (T154/10-155/10, Arnold iii.90).

DII appears, in fact, to be a shorter version of HTY. As far as their exact relationship is concerned, there are clearly two possibilities: first that the DII version is an abridgement of the HTY version, and, second, that the HTY version is an expansion of the DII version. The following evidence suggests the former:

i) As part of its discussion of the first commandment, the HTY group has a passage stating that priests who preach more for their reputation than for worship of God and for profit of his Church make themselves a false likeness in heaven; that he who preaches more for worldly gain than for worship of God makes himself a false likeness in earth; and that he who preaches more to feed his lusts than to please God makes himself a false likeness in water.

The corresponding DII passage reads as follows:

And so preestis

þat prechen *moore* to have a loos, opir for wynnynge of worldli
goodis, opir lustis of hire beli, makyn fals leeknesse in hevene
and erþe and water.

(Arnold iii.83/25-8; my italics)

The use of the word 'moore' here arouses expectations of some sort of comparison which are not, in fact, fulfilled. They are, however, fulfilled in the corresponding HTY passage and it therefore seems likely that the DII version is an abridgement, and that the comparative elements have been lost in the process.

ii) As part of its discussion of the third commandment, DII

contains the following passage:

for þe moost

hize service þat man can serve God þerinne, schulde he schape
him to do on þe holidai. *But God wole þat freedom of his
lawe be kept, and specialli as Poul techip.* But be war þat
þou kepe þiise four feestis principalli, Christemasse and Estre,
Ascension and Whitsountide, and þe Soneday þour3 þe zeer.

(Arnold iii.85 com.III.15-20; my italics; cf. T76/4-5, T81/1-2)

The sense of this passage, and especially of the section in italics, is obscure. Consideration of the corresponding passage in HTY (T73-5, 80-81), however, offers clarification. The HTY discussion of the third commandment deals with two topics not mentioned by DII: the possibility of certain types of work being permissible on the Sunday (supported by the example of Christ's miracles on the sabbath), and the question of the large number of holy days and the number which should be observed. The use of Paul as an authority makes sense in either or both these contexts. The reference is to Galatians 4:8-10, where Paul equates the observation of 'days, and months, and seasons, and years' with a return to the bondage of paganism (T80/13-15).

iii) As Ives points out,¹ the two-fold division of the commandments into those which teach us to love God and those which teach us to love our neighbour, a constant theme of the HTY version, is not found in DII. There is clear evidence, however, that DII's original, or an ancestor of his original, did contain

1. Ives, p.5.

such a division. The first few lines of the commentary on the fourth commandment in DII reads as follows:

þe fourþe comaundement is þis. Þou schalt worschipe þi
fadir and þi moder, þat þou be longe lyved upon erþe, and þi
neisbore as þi self. And whoevere loveþ his neisbore, loveþ
his God, and dwellip in God and God in him. And so þes
twei braunchis of charite mowe not be departid, as Seynt Joon
seip in his firste pistil. (Arnold iii.86 com.IV.1-6; cf. T83-4).

Something has clearly gone wrong here. The fourth commandment does not instruct us to love both our parents *and* our neighbour. In fact, what we are clearly seeing are traces of the two-fold division as it is found in HTY. The corresponding passage in HTY reads:

The secound table of opere maundementis of God conteyneth
seuene maundementis *and* techip þe to loue
þi neisbore as þisilf; *and* þat þou shalt kenne
by þe þre maundementis of first table,
for what man euer kepeþ þes þre maundementis
he loueþ himsilf *and* also his neisbore. And þus þes
ten comaundementis ben knyttid togidre, þat whoeuer
loueþ his neisbore he loueþ his God etc.

(T83/9-84/5)

iv) As part of the discussion of the fifth commandment, DII contains the following passage:

But witeþ wel, þis maundement is sibbe to many synnes. For
Seynt Joon seip, he þat hatip his broþir is a mansleer, 3he ofte
tymes moore to blame þan he þat sleep his bodi, for þe synne
is moore. And bi þis skile a bac-bitere is a man-sleer. *But,*
as clerkis seyen, upon sixe maneris is þis consent doon, and
men schulden wel knowe it

(Arnold iii.86-7)

followed by a list of the types of consent.

The change of subject matter in the final sentence here is abrupt, while the use of 'pis' suggests that something has been omitted (there has been no consent mentioned in DII to which 'pis' could refer). And, in fact, if we look at the HTY version, we find that it does contain a passage, not found in DII, which ends with the following sentence:

For whoeuer *consentip* to sicke mansleyng synneþ æsens þis
maundement *and* is a mansleer. But, as clerkis seien....

(T105/8-10)

v) As part of the treatment of the eighth commandment, the HTY version asks whether it is lawful to lie '*in* mesure for a bette eende.' 'and it is craft,' the passage continues, 'to knowe þe *vertu* of liyng, for many men lyen to myche *and* many men to litel, *and* he þat holdip him in a mene hap þe *vertu* of liyng' (T136/7-137/1). The DII version does not contain this passage, but it does share the HTY group's response viz. that wise men say that lying is unlawful because it comes from the devil, and if it were lawful it would worship Christ who is the first truth, but, in fact, nothing goes against Christ more than lying (Arnold iii.89 com.VIII.16ff., passage beginning 'But her seyn wise men.' cf.T137/1-2). Although DII's version is possible, the conjunction 'But', which does not lead on particularly naturally from what has gone before, suggests an omission.

It seems likely, then, that the DII scribe was condensing his source. There is, however, a certain amount of material in

DII which does not appear in HTY viz. a passage on the various types of theft (Arnold iii.88, commandment VII), a certain amount of biblical supporting material within the body of the commentary drawn from Acts 13, Ecclesiasticus 23 and Zacharius (Arnold iii.83, 84 and 89) and the section of the epilogue drawn from Deuteronomy 28. Of these, perhaps the most interesting is the seventh commandment commentary material on theft. This passage instructs the reader not to desire his neighbour's goods 'unskilfulli pryue ne apeert' and lists the ways in which the commandment can be broken (Arnold iii.88). A similar passage is found in B, in a section drawn from his DI source, which reads as follows: 'And pis takynge of godes may be do on meny maneres. On ys in takynge py neyzebores goedes fro him azenst his wylle, oþer by pryuey stelynge, by nyzte or by daye, by londe or by water, oþer by open robberyge' (B125/1-4).

It does not, however, seem likely that the DII passage was actually drawn from B. It is clear from DII's relationship with HTY that, where he was not actually making an omission, the DII scribe normally followed his source extremely closely. The B and DII passages on theft, however, do not show this type of close correspondence, indeed the overlap is minimal. This, then, leaves us with the problem of accounting for this particular passage of DII material. There seem to be two possible explanations. The first is that the DII abridger may perhaps have disliked the material which appears at this point in the HTY version (viz. the section telling us that a man may, in time of need, take his neighbour's goods, even

if the neighbour is unwilling) and have turned to another version (eg. something similar to DI) to find alternative material. This is perfectly possible and I will in fact later suggest the the DII scribe may well have intended to take a similar line of action with his ninth commandment commentary. The other possibility is that the material found in DII represents an earlier version of HTY i.e. is left over from a stage when the HTY version retained more traces of the original orthodox commentary (whether this was DI or not).

The fact that the DII version is an abridgement of HTY does not necessarily mean that his exemplar contained all the material which is now to be found in HTY. In a number of instances, for example, the point at which the DII commentary either joins or leaves the HTY commentary coincides with the beginning or end of a chapter. Although it is, of course, possible that the chapter boundary provided a natural starting or breaking off point for the DII scribe, it appears equally possible that a change of chapter in the HTY group may have marked the boundary between sources and might therefore indicate the point at which additional material, added *after* the split with DII, either began or ended. There are also certain places where the boundaries between the material which HTY shares with DII and that which it shares with B coincide, and this may well suggest that the version of HTY used by B and the DII scribe had in common the lack of certain later additions which appear in the extant HTY version. Places where this approach might lead us to suspect that the extant HTY commentary contains such additions are as follows:

- i) The beginning of chapter eight in the HTY version (T p.57) coincides with the return to material shared with DII (i.e. the section on breaking the second commandment by actions rather than words cf. Arnold iii.85/7) after a B/HTY digression on the excuses made by 'greete swerers' and on the reputation for falsehood acquired by such people (T54/5ff.). It seems possible that the independent B/HTY material was a later addition, made after the break with the DII version.
- ii) Neither B nor DII contains any of the material found in Chapter 3 of the HTY discussion of the commandments of the second table viz. the section on worshipping your spiritual fathers (T p.98ff.). It is possible that this section was omitted because it was considered too extreme (it explicitly argues, for instance, against the condemnation as heretics of those opposed to the granting of lordships to bishops (T100/8-9), but it is also possible that this whole chapter was a later HTY addition.
- iii) As part of its discussion of the sixth commandment, the HTY version contains a passage on virginity and the consequences of sin (T121ff.). This section appears in neither B nor DII (both break off immediately before it) and, since there seems to be no particular reason for its omission, it seems likely that it is a later addition.
- iv) Both B and DII break away from the HTY version at the same point in the discussion of the seventh commandment viz. after the comment that '*Crist, þat may not lye, seiþ þes ben þeues, siþ þei taken Cristis goodis wipouten his leewe*' (T127/8-

128/1; cf. Arnold iii.89/2-3). The HTY version follows this with a further comment on clerics who obtain their positions dishonourably and then by a section on whether people should be hanged for theft or burnt for heresy. It is possible, of course, that both B and DII omitted the HTY material on the death penalty because it was so extreme, but this argument would be more convincing if they had broken away from HTY at the beginning of the chapter. As it is, the passage reads as follows; the section shared with B and DII is in italics:

but þes Antecristis

*clerkis breken þe roof and comen yn aboue bi pride
of þis world, and Crist þat may not lye, seiþ þes
ben þeues, siþ þei taken Cristis goodis wiþouten his
leeue. But 3it treuþe nedip hem to write in her lettris
þat bi suffryng of God þei ben siche maistris. Þe moost
þeef of alle þes, and moost Antecrist, is þe chefteyn of þes
þat ledip hem alle, for he stelip moost falsely moo goodis of
Crist.*

Capitulum Decimum

Lord wheþer it be Goddis lawe to sle men for þeft?.....

(T127/7-129/2)

The fact that B and DII both break away from HTY at exactly the same point and not at a chapter mark or at the beginning of the extreme material, suggests that, at one stage, this point represented the end of the HTY commentary on this particular commandment and that the later, more extreme material is an addition.

This does not mean that the DII scribe was never moved to omit material because he disapproved of or disliked it. The Bo₂

manuscript contains the first section of the HTY material on the ninth commandment viz. the passage dealing with covetousness as the root of evil possession (T143/1-144/9; Arnold iii.90) but follows this with a blank page (Arnold iii.90 note). The point at which the Bo₂ manuscript breaks away from the HTY material coincides with the point at which B ceases to follow the HTY discussion of this particular commandment, and possibly for the same reason, i.e. that both scribes disliked the subsequent HTY criticism of the religious and perhaps particularly that of friars. It seems likely that the Bo₂ scribe left the page blank intending to fill it later with less extreme material. Whether the Bo₂ scribe was himself a friar is, of course, impossible to determine, but whether he was or not, he seems, like B, to represent a stage in the development of Lollard ideas when, despite the fact that Lollardy had become strongly anti-fraternal, those who sided with the friars were still willing to promulgate Lollard views on dominion (Arnold iii.88 commandment VII.12ff.) and on the failings of the regular clergy (Arnold iii.83/25ff.).

If it is true that passage (i) cited above (i.e. the passage on great swearers) was not present in DII's exemplar but was present in the exemplar used by B, this would in turn imply (assuming no further split in the tradition) that, where DII contains material shared with HTY but not found in B, then the B scribe (or his ancestor) must have made an omission. This generally seems a convincing explanation. The only problem occurs in the discussion of the fifth commandment where there is no particular

reason for B to break away from the HTY version just where he does (BT107/10) since the passage which immediately follows, while extremely anti-clerical, is not noticeably more so than passages which B *does* share with HTY (note, for example, the similar material on confession p.150ff.). On the other hand, there is no reason why B should not, at this point, move, as he does, to his DI source. The rest of B's putative omissions are more easily explained. B's omission of the passage on priests who break the first commandment (T30/1-9, Arnold iii.83/25-8) may well have occurred because the immediately preceding passage, on the love of the flesh, the love of worldly goods and on pride, reminded him of his DI source. B has a perfectly good reason for his omission of the HTY passage on the importance of Sunday (God made the world, rose from death, sent the Holy Ghost, will hold judgement day on a Sunday (T81/12ff.)) since he has already dealt with this topic in a section drawn from his DI source (B77/17ff.), and the same consideration is explicitly stated to have led to B's failure to deal with spiritual lechery as part of the sixth commandment discussion (T114/7ff, see comment by B p.120/22-3)

It is interesting to compare part of the section on images found in these three versions. It seems likely that B's reference to the 'gret clerk' i.e Wyclif (B32/18, see note to this line) appeared in an earlier version of HTY and has subsequently been lost, possibly as the HTY commentary became more extreme, (note the similar HTY argument that images do both good and harm (T32/1)), and this would in turn suggest that the whole of the passage drawn

from Wyclif (i.e. the section up to B33/6) may have appeared in an earlier version of HTY. Moreover the DII version, though it overlaps very little with this section, contains a phrase which seems closer to material found in B than in HTY: 'in hope of help or helpe in a maner neede' (Arnold iii.83/30-31; cf. B33/6-7, T33/3) which suggests that this material too may have appeared in an earlier version of HTY, and been lost for a similar reason. It is also interesting to note that the process of abridgement has made the DII material on images more extreme than that of either B or HTY, since any qualification of their condemnation (that they may do good as well as harm) has been omitted.

Discursive Versions III, IV, and V (DIII, DIV, DV)

The DIII version is extant in one manuscript: Glasgow University General 223 (G₁). This version has a short prologue, corresponding to the first few lines of the DI/B/HTY prologue *incipit* 'Alle maner of men' *explicit* 'he schulde kepe þe maundementis of God' (cf. *BVP*.317, T1/2-8), but it has no epilogue. The DIII version appears to be, at least in part, an abbreviation. Certain sections of the commentary are introduced by terms such as 'and generaly', 'and algatis' or 'as' (meaning 'for example'), terms which suggest either the selection of the most important point or a summary. DIII shows clear signs of a relationship with the B/HTY version. Passages of word for word

correspondence are as follows (although references are to T, such passages also appear in B unless otherwise stated):

- i) The DIII prologue material mentioned above.
- ii) A section on the three ways of worshipping the Trinity (G₁ f.213^v/9-22; T59/7-60/9)
- iii) Part of the DIII discussion of the second commandment dealing with Christ's observations on swearing (G₁ f. 214^r/3ff.; cf. T52/6ff. and especially T53/7-9).
- iv) The DIII third commandment material on the keeping of the Sabbath and especially on the avoidance of servile works (G₁ f. 214^r/30-f.214^v/10; cf. T72/6-73/5).
- v) A section on offering bodily and spiritual help to your parents (G₁ f.214^v/25-29; T88/5-8).
- vi) Two clauses from the DIII fifth commandment commentary:
 - a) 'and it vndirstondip vnskilful sleynge' (G₁ f.215^r/6-7; cf. T101/3-4).
 - b) 'eche man of þe world is broþere to oþere, *and* also neizbore by þe ordenaunce of God' (G₁ f.215^r/19-21; cf. T102/5-6).
- vii) A section on lechery, showing word for word correspondence with HTY and some overlap with B (G₁ f.215^r/27-215^v/2; T114/1-5 and 7-8).
- viii) A section on the consequences of false witness (some men are unjustifiably hanged, some lose their inheritance) (G₁ f. 216^r/8-15 and 19-20; T132/10-12 (some difference in wording).
- ix) DIII ninth commandment material dealing with men's desire for things which are not alive and with such covetousness as the

root of evil possession (G₁ f.216^v/4-10; T144/1-9).

x) DIII material on the tenth commandment stating that people often desire live things more than those which are dead and dealing with the root of sin in the will (G₁ f.216^v/23-28; T154/2-6).

The closer correspondence between DIII and HTY in item vii above, together with the fact that the DIII commentary does not contain any independent B material, suggests that DIII's relationship is with the HTY group rather than with B. The majority of these passages show some overlap with the DII version extant in Bo₂, although the lack in Bo₂ of, for example, part of the shared HTY/DIII material on the third commandment and the material on bodily lechery (presumably omitted from Bo₂ because of squeamishness) shows that the DIII version cannot be drawn from Bo₂. The degree of overlap nevertheless suggests that the DIII commentary may have been drawn from a version related to HTY which corresponded more closely to DII than does the present HTY version, and, in particular, that this source may have lacked some of the material found in HTY but not in DII. Thus, for example, neither the DII nor the DIII version contains the HTY third commandment material analysing the wording of the commandment and discussing the change of the sabbath from Saturday to Sunday (T67-72). Since it seems likely that the latter passage was an integral part of the HTY commentary (see note to T70/1-72/2), it seems clear that this material must, at some

stage, have been omitted. This would further suggest that the witness drawn on by DIII represented an intermediate stage between HTY and DII, i.e. a stage when these particular passages had been lost but other sections of HTY material, not found in DII, still remained. The fact that the quotations of the commandments in DIII correspond closely to those in B/HTY but not so closely to those found in DII also suggests such an intermediate stage.

It is noticeable that the DIII commentaries on the fifth and seventh commandments do not show word-for-word correspondence with HTY but contain instead passages on the three types of manslaughter (by hand, tongue and heart) and on the various types of theft ('*pryuy* and *apert*', 'by maystre and raueyn' etc.). This material is similar to that found in DI and in B, but does not show word-for-word correspondence with either. It is possible that these passages result from the DIII commentator's desire to avoid the somewhat extreme HTY material on the death penalty and on the right, in time of need, to take your neighbour's goods without permission (T pp.102-4, T p.124), although they may equally reflect material found in an earlier and less extreme version of HTY (note, however, the residual material on the death penalty found in DII (Arnold iii.86/31-3)).

The DIII commentary is also related to DIV. The DIV version is extant in one manuscript: Bodley Douce 246 (Do₁). This version lists all the commandments first and follows this list with a short commentary on each ('The prid maundement is broken' etc.)

The structure of DIV is thus similar to that of RV and may have been suggested by it, but no attempt is made to organise breakers into groups of three. The DIV version has no prologue, but it does have an epilogue stating that whoever breaks one commandment is culpable in all and that, therefore, few are unblemished ('clene') in the sight of God.

The DIV commentary shows considerable overlap with DIII, for example:

- i) A section explaining that concentration on worldly business and worldly love is the same as making false gods (G₁ f.213^r/29-213^v/6; Do₁ f.102^r/20-102^v/4).
- ii) A passage stating that those who say they are true Christian men but in fact do not follow Christ break the second commandment (G₁ f.213^v/28-214^r/1; Do₁ f.102^v/7-10).
- iii) A sentence stating that both greater and lesser men of the Church break the third commandment (G₁ f.214^r/27-30, Do₁ f.102^v/11-16).
- iv) A section on loving God and Holy Church in Christ's manner and not in a worldly manner (G₁ f.214^v/18-23, Do₁ f.102^v/18-103^r/2).
- v) A section defining theft as taking God's goods which all men should have and yet not truly serving God or his Church. (G₂15^v/22-5; Do₁ 103^r/13-16).

The DIV commentary appears to be made up almost entirely of summary material. Both the passages shared with DIII and

those which are independent tend to begin with one of the phrases we noted above ('and generally' etc). The degree to which the material is summarised means that it is impossible to establish any textual connection with any other discursive version, although clearly the material in item i above, for example, could be a summary of first commandment material found in various commentaries. The Lollard overtones of DIV are revealed by item (v) above and by a tenth commandment passage criticising begging friars. Both these passages express opinions similar to those found in HTY but the lack of any close verbal correspondence once again makes it impossible to establish a textual connection. The fact that the DIV commentary does not overlap with the DIII passages of word for word correspondence with HTY, together with the fact that not all the DIV material appears in DIII, suggests that DIII may be a compilation made up of material drawn from a version related to HTY/DII and material drawn from DIV. It is noticeable that, whereas the DIII compiler is quite happy to include material critical of churchmen in general (see item (iii) above) he does not include DIV tenth commandment material criticising begging friars.

DIII also shares certain passages of correspondence with the DV version. This version is extant in one manuscript: British Library Harley 2406 (Ha₄). It has no prologue and only a very brief epilogue instructing the reader to keep the commandments

and to flee sin. The DV commentary is brief, but it does contain one Latin quotation at the beginning of each commandment, quotations which correspond not to those found in the rhetorical versions (although there is a certain amount of overlap) but to supporting quotations found in two other manuscripts, Tr and Lm₅. Thus the commentary as a whole is preceded by a quotation from Proverbs VII and the discussion of the third commandment ends with a quotation from Jeremiah XVII. The passages of correspondence with DIII consist of the comment that 'we sholde kepe oure holyday, and allegatis oure Sonday' (Ha₄ f.2^r/8-9; cf. G₁ f.214^v/3-4) and of the instruction in the discussion of the eighth commandment instructing the reader not to bear false witness for love or for hate, for winning or losing (Ha₄ f.2^v/23-4; G₁ f.216^r/2-5). These passages are, however, so brief that it is difficult to use them as evidence of any textual connection. In places, notably in the discussion of the third commandment where the reader is instructed to think on God heartily and pray to him devoutly (cf. Bühler p.690), DV appears to be related to the rhetorical versions; on other occasions it seems that it may be a summary of one of the longer discursive versions. It is, however, difficult to be certain, without further evidence, just exactly what this link was.

Discursive Version VI (DVI); *Pore Caitif*

A further commandments commentary with which the B/HTY version shares passages of word-for-word correspondence is that contained in *Pore Caitif*. *Pore Caitif* has a prologue quoting Matthew 19:16-17, dealing with the circumstances under which Moses received the two tables, and explaining the two fold division. The *Pore Caitif* epilogue, 'þe charge off þe heestis', instructs people to learn the commandments and teach them to their children and follows this with passages from Deuteronomy 28. The text of *Pore Caitif* as it occurs in MS Harley 2336 has been edited by Sister Mary Teresa Brady and references given below are to this edition unless otherwise stated. This commentary and that which appears in the majority of other *Pore Caitif* manuscripts is orthodox. However, as Sister Brady has shown, certain *Pore Caitif* manuscripts show evidence of Lollard interpolations.¹

The B/HTY version shares the following material with the orthodox version of *Pore Caitif* (once again, references are to T, but the material is also found in the corresponding passages in B unless otherwise stated):

- i) A comment that God's word, in the first commandment, is 'chargid wiþ witt more þan we kan telle' (T15/1-2, passage not found in B; cf. *Pore Caitif* p.26/16-17).

1. Brady, 'Lollard Interpolations'.

- ii) Passages on love and dread (T15/5-9, passage not found in B; T51/7-52/4; cf. *Pore Caitif* pp.34-5). Part of this, the section quoting Augustine, is also found separately in B (pp.14-15), although the wording of the B passage is not particularly close.
- iii) The instruction '*and be 3e trewe men*' (T53/3-4; cf. *Pore Caitif* p.42/3-4).
- iv) Section on being a coward as far as lechery is concerned and avoiding situations which might lead to this sin (T117/3-118/6; cf. *Pore Caitif* p.63).
- v) Passages on the eighth commandment:
 - a) Lines equating bearing false witness with forsaking God for the devil (T135/1-5; *Pore Caitif* p.70/17-20).
 - b) Comment that nothing is more contrary to Christ than lying and that, even if a man could save the whole world by lying, he should nevertheless refrain (T137/7-10; *Pore Caitif* p.70/23-5, 72/7-9).
- vi) Section on covetousness as the ground of evil possession (T144/1-9; *Pore Caitif* p.74/14-23).
- vii) Observation that '*ofte tymes it fallip þat þe synne is more groundid in yuel wille þan þe dede wipoute forþ*' (T154/5-6; *Pore Caitif* p.78/14-16).

The HTY version (but not B) also shares material with the later, less orthodox versions of the *Pore Caitif* commentary, what Sister Brady has described as 'manuscripts that evidence Lollard infiltration.' Three manuscripts of *Pore Caitif* (British Library Additional 30897, University of Glasgow Hunterian 520, and Cambridge University Library Ff.vi.55)

contain the passage on images found in HTY which begins '*and þe same God is now, wiþ þe same maundementis*', and which ends with a comment on the covetousness of priests (T31/3-33/7).¹ Since the addition of this passage to the *Pore Caitif* commentary clearly postdated any B/HTY/*Pore Caitif* relationship implied by the passages of correspondence listed above, a shared Lollard compendium seems the most likely explanation for this overlap.

It is difficult, in fact, to use any of the passages as evidence of a textual relationship. For one thing, the majority appear to be quotations and are accompanied in *Pore Caitif* (and once in B/HTY) by references to 'a greet doctour' or 'a greet clerk' (*Pore Caitif* p.63/1; p.70/16 & 23; p.74/18-19; p.78/16-17; T117/3). Passage (iv) of those cited above, for instance, has been taken from Wyclif. Material of this nature was widely disseminated in commandments commentaries and, as we have already noticed, the B compiler clearly found St. Augustine's comment on the bristle and the thread in more than one of his sources. Once again, a shared compendium seems the most likely explanation.

Discursive Versions VII and VIII (DVII and DVIII)

A possible connection between DII and DVII (and thus between DVII and HTY) has been suggested by Martin.² The DVII version is extant in four manuscripts: Ad₂, Bo₃, Ca₃ and Hu. The commentary

1. Brady, 'Lollard Interpolations', p.186.

2. Martin p.207ff. and especially pp.209-11.

found in a separate version (DVIII extant in one manuscript, Emmanuel College Cambridge 246 (Em)) corresponds to the DVII version for the first few lines of the prologue (after this a page is missing) and then for the final section of the discussion of the first commandment. The remainder of DVIII appears to be a summary of the DI version. Bo₃, Ca₃ and Hu have a prologue (*incipit* 'Alle manere of men shuld holde Goddis biddyngis', *explicit* 'And Seynt Jon euangelist seiþ þe charge of God is to kepe his hestis and þei ben not greuous ne heuy') part of which is missing from Ad₂. The first section of the prologue corresponds to the first section of the DI/B/HTY prologue and to the prologue as it appears in DII and DV. The second section quotes I John 2 (those who say they love God but fail to keep his commandments are liars) and then explains the reasonable nature of the instruction to keep the commandments. The epilogue consists of material drawn from Deuteronomy 28. Ca₃ contains chapter and verse references which are not found in the other manuscripts. As part of the discussion of the second commandment Ad₂ and Hu contain a much fuller quotation from Matthew V than do Ca₃ and Bo₃.

Notable passages in DVII include the condemnation of the worship of 'dede ymages' rather than God as a 'cursed auoutry' and sections of outspoken criticism of 'vicious prests' who support this adultery and of friars who bear the outward signs of holiness ('girdles and here cowped schon, and nozt handeling mone') when in fact they too are vicious ('wher is a fouler ypocricy or lesingmonger and fals witnesse berer þan such on

is').

As Martin points out, direct textual relationship between this version and any of the other discursive versions is difficult to prove. There is very little evidence of word-for-word correspondence. The first sentence of the DVII prologue (*incipit* 'Alle maner of men' *explicit* 'kepe þe maundementis of God') corresponds, as we have seen, to the first sentence of the prologue as it appears in other versions, but it is impossible, without further evidence, to trace any line of descent. Establishing a relationship of the main body of DVII's commentary to the main body of any other commentary is also difficult since the evidence is conflicting. Thus, part of the discussion of the the first commandment concerns the question of spiritual lechery (dealt with in B, but not in HTY or DI), and the link between images and the covetousness of priests (dealt with in HTY and the Lollard infiltrated *Pore Caitif*, but not in B or DI).

It should be noted, in view of Martin's discussion, that a relationship between DVII and HTY seems more likely than a relationship between DVII and DII. The DVII commentary on the first commandment, for instance, corresponds more closely to that found in HTY (and to the Lollard infiltrated version of *Pore Caitif*) than to the DII commentary since, in DVII, the criticism of priests is preceded by the discussion of images and explicitly linked with it (priestly avarice encourages people to worship such images) a connection which is not made in DII since the DII version does not contain the final section of the HTY discussion.

However, the correspondences outlined above are not really consistent or close enough for it to be possible to establish a textual relationship. The DVII version does, however, share one short passage of word-for-word correspondence with *Pore Caitif* viz. the section stating that no child should consent to sin for love of his parents because bowing to sin is not obedience but the greatest rebellion that man may do against God (*Pore Caitif* p.51/19-23; Ad₁ f/44^r/5-10).

Discursive Versions IX and X (DIX and DX)

The HTY version also shares a certain amount of subject matter with the DIX commentary. This version is extant in one manuscript: Bodley Douce 274 (Do₂). The DIX commentary has no prologue, but it does have an epilogue promising damnation to those who break the commandments 'þof þou haue a thowsande bulles of *pardoun*, lettres of fraternite *and* chauntries after þi dethe' (f.7^r/25-7) and the bliss of heaven to those who keep them even if they lack bulls of pardon etc. The treatment of each commandment begins with a short Latin rendering, e.g. 'Non adorabis deos alienos' (f.1^r/1). Noteworthy passages include the comment that the reader must study and keep God's commandments and law 'bifore alle oþer preceptis and lawes made of man, for ellis þou louest not his lawe byfore oþer *and* so not hymselfe byfore alle oþer þinge' (f.1^v/14-17), and the observation that the reader should 'here God's seruyce taust þe *in* þi moder tunge, for þat is better to þe þen to here mony masses' (f.3^r/15-17). The commentary includes a great deal of criticism of priests and the religious, including the comment that a

priest who performs his office badly is a thousand times more cursed than subjects who withhold their tithes (f.4^r) as well as criticism of those who lie about Christ and say that he was a worldly lord and those who say that he was a beggar (f.6^v). The opinion 'þat newe religions foundid of seyntis is better þen clene religion of presthod þat Crist made hymselfe' is characterised as false witness (f.6^v/26-30).

The DIX version is clearly related to DX. This version is extant in four manuscripts: Ha₅, Lm₅, Sa and Ti. All have prologues, but that contained in Ha₅ is shorter lacking the first section of the Lm₅/Sa/Ti prologue. The Lm₅/Sa/Ti prologue (*incipit* 'Where is any man nowodayes þat askyth how I shal loue God *and* myne euene Cristen' (Lm₅ f.3^r), *explicit* 'þerfore if þu wylt eschewe þys dredful cursyng of God, lerne to kepe hys ten comaundementis' (Lm₅ f.4^v)) laments the general lack of knowledge of the basics of the Christian faith and particularly of God's law. The DX epilogue warns against relying for salvation on pardoners, chantries and pilgrimages. Noteworthy passages in the main body of the commentary include a section on dead images which cannot help themselves or other men (Lm₅ ff.5^{r-v}) and a criticism of those who set more value on the ordinances of sinful men than on the law of God (Lm₅ f.7^r). Lm₅ contains Latin quotations corresponding to those found in Ha₄ and Tr. These appear to be a later addition and to have been added somewhat carelessly since the quotations accompanying the discussions of the ninth and tenth commandments do

not correspond to the DX division of the types of covetousness. Sa lacks critical references to friars found in the other witnesses.

DX shows considerable overlap with the DI norm. The DX discussion of the ninth and tenth commandments in particular is made up almost exclusively of material also found in DI. It seems likely, in fact, that DX is a compilation with DI as its basic source. Evidence that the DX version has resulted from the combination of DI and other material can be found, for example, in the section dealing with the first commandment. Both DI and DX inform us that anyone who loves anything at all more than God, be it wife or child, gold or silver or any other goods (*cate!*) makes that particular item his God (Lm₅ f.5^r, *BVV* p.318). In DI this leads naturally into an account of the three main types of people who thus break the first commandment: lecherous and gluttonous people who love their flesh more than God, covetous people who love the world more than God, and proud men who love the devil more than God. 'Of þis,' runs the DI version 'hit foleweþ. þ' þre manere of folk suwen þe sturyng of oure þreo enemys: whiche ben þe flesch. þe world. and þe feond'. In DX, however, a passage on the worship of images is inserted between the first statement on the love of wife, child etc. and its expansion into the three types so that the link between them is lost and the second section has to be introduced as a completely separate topic: 'Ouer þys þre maner of folk breken þys comaundement' (Lm₅ f.5^v/9-10).

Some of the additional material introduced into the DX version (the section on dead images, for example, and that comparing man's ordinances with God's law) has Lollard overtones. It is by no means clear, however, that the compiler's main aim is the expression of such unorthodox opinions. The DX commentary does not display the overall sense of commitment to a cause found in, say, the HTY commentary. His choice of sources is eclectic, and leads to a great variety in tone. Some of the DX material is vividly anecdotal (as part of the discussion of the fourth commandment, for instance, we are offered the *exemplum* drawn from Isodorus, of the badly brought up child, eventually condemned to death, who bites off his father's nose as a reproach for his upbringing). Other passages, however, appear to be drawn from a more mystical tradition. The man who is tempted to lechery is advised, for example, to

rede wel in hys soule þe rede boke
of Cristis body al to woundid, fro þe heiest place of þe
hed til þe sole of þe fot

(Lm₅ f.18^r/1-3).

Apart from the connection with DI, DX's clearest textual connection is with DIX. Parallel passages occur, for instance, in the discussion of the first commandment where the two versions have very similar passages on the Trinity, in the discussion of the fourth commandment where both have similar passages dealing with one's relationship with one's spiritual father, and in the epilogue where, as we have seen, both versions deal with the uselessness of pardons, chantries etc. to those who have not kept the commandments.

Since the DX version is so clearly a compilation, it seems, at first, possible that the DX compiler might have been using DIX as one of his sources. It is certainly true that the DIX version of, for example, the shared epilogue material, seems to be somewhat fuller than that found in DX. However, consideration of the commentary on, for example, the first commandment, suggests the opposite, i.e. that DIX may have been, at least in part, an abbreviation of DX. All the main elements found in the DX commentary on the first commandment (the section on pride, covetousness and gluttony; the reminder of the prospect of God's punishment; the section on the trinity; and the prohibition on witchcraft) appear in DIX. Moreover, the first of these passages is drawn from DI material quoted word for word in DX and summarized in DIX (the DIX comment at the end of this section, 'Perfore proude men worschippen pride and so þe fende for her fals God, *ande so of alle oþer synnes* (Do₂ f.1^r/21-23, my italics) makes this abbreviation clear).

It therefore seems possible that the DIX commentator drew on DX rather than *vice versa*, and probably on an earlier version of DX, one which did not contain the additional material on images, since this fits in so well with the overall tone of DIX that it seems an unlikely omission. This pattern is not, however, consistent. The DIX and DX commentaries on certain commandments (e.g. the second) do not show this kind of close correspondence. It is possible, however, that the two commentaries did once correspond more consistently and that their subsequent

development has obscured the connection. Since the DIX version is more outspoken than DX, it seems possible that one of these developments was the increased extremity of DIX, especially in terms of criticism of the clergy. Thus, for example, there is very little overlap in the discussion of the seventh commandment where DIX condemns as false witness both the beliefs that Christ was a worldly lord and a beggar, and the support for the new religious (Do₂ f.6^v/20ff.). DIX's second commandment commentary includes criticism of priests who say God's service in haste and without reverence and for covetousness and vainglory, none of which appears in DX, while DIX's fourth commandment commentary describes a priest who fails to carry out his duties correctly as being worse than any of his subjects who fail to pay their tithes. There are repeated echoes of HTY subject matter in this material, although it is worth noting that such corresponding passages do not necessarily appear under the heading of the same commandment in the two commentaries. For instance, the DIX passage on priests who preach for worldly gain etc. could well be a summary of the HTY first commandment discussion but it appears in DIX under the heading of the second. Moreover, not all DIX's more extreme material could have been drawn from HTY (there is nothing in HTY, for instance, corresponding to the DIX material on tithes), and, in general, the correspondences seem to reflect a shared attitude rather than a textual relationship.

Discursive Version XI (DXI)

The DXI version is extant in one manuscript, Bodley Laud Miscellaneous 524 (Lm₆). This version has no prologue, but it does have an epilogue summarising material drawn from Deuteronomy 28. Much of the DXI commentary is brief (the commentary on the third commandment, for instance, merely instructs people to spend the sabbath in holiness of life), but the commentaries on the first and last commandments are longer. DXI shows evidence of overlap with DI and, to some extent, with the B/HTY version. The first part of DXI's first commandment commentary, for instance, corresponds to DI (passage beginning 'pys ys vnderstond þus, for cause þat nobyng schulde be loued moste bote þat þat is best and most worthy to be loued' (Lm₆ f.18^r cf. *BVV* p.318/5ff.)), a passage which occurs neither in B nor in HTY. The commentary on the last commandment combines material from the DI commentaries on the ninth and tenth commandments (see discussion of Lb above). DXI's overlap with B/HTY is confined to brief comments viz. the definition of lecherous men as those who make their god 'þe taylende of a strumpet' (Lm₆ f.18^r/12,; cf. B23/11-12, T23/4, although the expression has been altered in B to the somewhat more innocuous 'fleslyche baly of a lecherous womman'); and the observation that the devil is king of all the children of pride (Lm₆ f.18^r/13-14; B/T 26/1-2). In general, any relationship with B/HTY remains unproven. As far as the relationship with DI is concerned, it is worth remembering that this is the second vernacular commandments commentary to appear in this

manuscript and that it is immediately preceded by the DI commentary Lm₄. It therefore seems possible that the scribe may merely have added material from his first commentary to the much shorter second commentary.

Mixed Discursive/Rhetorical Version I (DRI)

The longest and most complex of the DR versions is DRI. This version, which is extant in two manuscripts (Ed₂ and Tr), has been extensively discussed by Martin.¹ The DRI version has a prologue and a brief epilogue corresponding to those found in DVII. Within the commentary, the general pattern is for the citation of each commandment to be followed by discursive material and then by rhetorical material. In addition, Tr has Latin quotations corresponding to those found in Lm₅ and Ha₄, which do not appear in Ed₂, as well as a passage of discursive first commandment commentary, following the rhetorical material, also absent from Ed₂. It thus seems likely that Ed₂ has the earlier version, and that the Tr scribe made additions. The form of the DRI rhetorical material (statement about the breakers plus 'Why' question) corresponds most closely to that of RIV but the material could clearly have been drawn from other rhetorical versions. The DRI discursive material shares passages of word for word correspondence with two discursive

1. Martin p.211ff.

versions, DVII and *Pore Caitif*. There is no overlap between these two areas of correspondence. The commentaries on the second, third, fourth and sixth commandments contain both material corresponding to *Pore Caitif* and material corresponding to DVII, although the section of the fourth commandment commentary which corresponds to DVII is extremely brief. The commentaries on the first, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth commandments contain material corresponding to *Pore Caitif*, but none corresponding to DVII while that on the fifth contains material corresponding to DVII but not to *Pore Caitif*. There is also a certain amount of additional material.

Martin has suggested that, where there is no overlap between DVII and DRI, this may be because the DVII commentaries on certain commandments have been altered, becoming, as Martin says, more caustic, and that an earlier version of DVII may well have had commentaries on these particular commandments which did share passages of correspondence with DRI.¹ However, comparison with *Pore Caitif* suggests that this may not have been the case. The whole of the DRI first commandment discursive material, for instance, consists of material found in *Pore Caitif*. As there is no overlap between DRI's *Pore Caitif* and DVII material in the rest of the commentary, it seems unlikely that there was overlap here. It seems possible, in fact, that the reason no DVII material appears in certain sections of the DRI commentary was precisely because of the caustic nature of the DVII material. It would then be the case that the DRI commentary was made up of material

1. Martin p.215.

drawn from at least three sources: one of the rhetorical versions (possibly RIV), DVII and *Pore Caitif*, or, possibly, a source shared with *Pore Caitif*.

Mixed Discursive/Rhetorical Versions II and III (DRII and DRIII)

The remaining discursive/rhetorical versions need be dealt with only briefly. As Anne Hudson has already suggested,¹ DRII is, in the main, a combination of material drawn from RI and DIX. Each section begins with a short rhyming version of the commandment in question accompanied by a brief Latin rendering. This is followed first by the discursive material and then by the rhetorical. The majority of the discursive material is drawn from DIX but the first commandment does contain an additional section describing the breaking of this commandment by the Israelites.²

The DRIII version is classified by Martin as rhetorical. It appears, however, to be a combination of RI with the discursive prologue as it appears in DVII and DVIII. There may well be some link with DRI here, but, as there is no overlap between DRI and DRIII's discursive material after the prologue, it is difficult to be certain. The rhetorical section of DRIII includes a certain amount of additional material (viz. the instructions, in the first commandment discussion, to love God with heart and soul and mind and, in the second, not to swear by heaven, earth,

1. Hudson, 'A New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism' pp.252-3.

2. For this section see Hudson, *ibid.* p.252.

Jerusalem or one's head (Matthew 5:34-36)). These passages of commentary on the first and second commandments do not appear in DVII but the second does appear in DVIII (the relevant DVIII section of the first commandment commentary is missing) and it therefore seems possible that the relationship is with DVIII rather than DVII, although it should be noted that the existing evidence suggests that the DVIII shared DVII's first commandment material.

Editorial Practice

The edition of the B version is necessarily based on the commentary found in MS BL Harley 2398 ff.73^r-106^r, while that of the HTY version is based, as explained above, on the commentary found in MS Trinity College Dublin 245 ff.9^r-26^v. Modern punctuation has been substituted for that in the manuscripts and modern paragraphing and word division have been used. Marginal or interlinear additions are indicated by curly brackets {...}; letters or words which have become unclear are enclosed in angle brackets <...>. Emendations in the form of addition to, or alteration of, the reading of the base manuscript are shown by square brackets [...]. Emendations which take the form of the suppression of words or letters found in the manuscript are recorded in the variants. In the case of the HTY version, variant readings found in H and/or Y are also so recorded, as are all emendations made in accordance with the readings of these manuscripts. All such emendations are converted into the dialect of the base manuscript. Marginal material written by the original scribes is recorded in the variants. Emendations are only made where there is a clear reason for believing the reading of the base manuscript to be an error.

Italics are used for the translation of biblical material where this is underlined in red in the manuscript. Expansions of abbreviations are indicated by italics or, in cases like the above, where the main body of the text is in italics, by the lack of them. Abbreviations of books of the Bible have been expanded in accordance with the practice of the scribe

of the base manuscript where there is evidence for this. Where there is no such evidence, expansions correspond to the forms used in the Early Version of the Wycliffite Bible. Superscript letters which correspond to the scribe's usual form have been normalised without notice. Superscript *a*, however, appears in italics.

As far as expansions are concerned, the following problems have been encountered (all concern possible final *-e*):

In B:

i) Small tails frequently occur on a number of letters. If we consider the first two lines of f.73^r, for example (B1/1-2), we find that each of the following words ends in such a tail: *Alle, maner, scholde, holde, Godes, wipoute, holdyng, of*. Although certain of these words or forms do occur elsewhere in B with written final *-e* e.g. *manere* (f. 100^r/16, B125/15), *comynge* (f.74^r/8, B5/22) and *lyuyng* (f.75^r/22, B10/2), the fact that this tail is of such frequent occurrence (and that it is found on final-*e* itself) suggests that it may be regarded as otiose. It is also worth noting that the short tail occurs in conjunction with the curved hook which clearly does indicate final *-e* in *where* (f.76^r/11, B15/1). The more elaborate flourish involving a loop which occurs occasionally on final *-g*, e.g. in *bytoknyng* (f.81^r/12, B31/10), has, however, been interpreted as indicating a final *-e*.

ii) The bar through final *-ch* has also been considered to be otiose.

Such a bar does occur in words and forms which also occur with final *-e* e.g. *ech* (f.75^r/17, B9/20) cf. *eche* (f.75^r/18, B9/21), *euerych* (f.73^v/25,

B5/8) cf. *erpeliche* (f.73^r/14, B2/2), and *frelych* (f.75^r/2B9/5) cf. *treweliche* (f.73^r/9, B1/7). However the bar also occurs as part of the *-ch* of *ich* (e.g. f.74^r/26, B7/6), a word which never appears with written final *-e*. In fact the bar through final *-ch* is invariable and this suggests that *-ch* plus bar is in functional contrast to *-che* and not equivalent to it.¹

In H:

Final *-ll* almost always appears with a small curved mark about half way up the second *l*, as in *Al* (H f.1^r/1 cf. T1/2) and such a mark also occurs very occasionally after single *l*, both medially and finally, as in *fu* (H f.23^v/2 cf. T132/11) and *sec er* (H f.23^r/1 cf. T131/7). This combination might possibly be interpreted as *le* with biting such as occurs with *de* in *lorde* (H f.1^r/12 cf. T1/10). It is, however, worth noting that the loop appears further above the line than would be expected if it represented written final *-e* and the possibility that it does so has therefore been discounted. The possibility of an abbreviation, however, remains. Arguing against this is the fact that *al e* (H f.21^v/22 cf. T128/4) occurs with both the curved mark and with written final *-e*. On the other hand the fact that final *-ll* always occurs either with this mark or with written final *-e* while final single *-l* normally occurs without any such mark (as in *wol* (H f.1^v/11 cf. T3/7)) tends to suggest that the mark

1. This is in accordance with the interpretation adopted in the *Atlas* which records *ich* but not *icbe* for this manuscript (*Atlas* ii.148).

does indicate final -e and that, where doubling of final -l occurs, it has been caused by the existence of such an -e. The mark has therefore been treated as an abbreviation and appears in italics in the variants.

Chapter headings which appear in the base manuscript in the margin only have been centred and enclosed in curly brackets {...}. Where chapter headings occur in the body of the text they have been centred and any additional marginal chapter headings have been recorded in the variants. Chapter headings in Y normally appear in the body of the text with the number in Roman numerals. Chapter headings in H normally appear in abbreviated form in the margin, although they are occasionally found in the body of the text. In both cases only omissions have been recorded.

The beginning of a new folio in the base manuscript is marked by a line / in the text and by details in the margin.

The following conventions are used in the variants:

- | | |
|------------------|--|
|] | a single square bracket separates lemma from variant. |
| , | a comma separates variants of the same line. |
| <i>canc.</i> | cancelled, either by subpunction or crossing out. |
| <i>corr.int.</i> | interlinear correction made by the scribe. |
| <i>corr.mar.</i> | marginal correction made by the scribe. |
| (<i>mar.</i>) | marginalia alongside the text at the point indicated by the line number(s) given. Unless otherwise indicated, the reference is to the base manuscript. |
| <i>om.</i> | omitted. |
| <i>trs.</i> | transposed. |

- / change of line.
- {...} insertion, above the line or in the margin,.
- <...> letters lost through damage, restored in editing.
- [...] editorial addition or alteration.

It should be noted that neither *om.* nor *trs.* should be considered to imply any judgement as to the comparative nearness or otherwise of a particular reading to the presumed original.

-CC-

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

B

Alle maner men scholde holde Godes byddynges, for wipoute f.73^r
 holdyng of hem may no man beo saued. And so þe Gospel
 telleþ how on axede Crist what he scholde do for to come to
 heuene and Crist bad him, if he wolde entre into blysse, þat
 5 he scholde kepe þe *commaundement3* of God; and þes kepeþ
 Jewes, as alle sectes scholde, for alle we scholde beo
 Cristene men *and* troweliche serue God, bot þis may we nou3t
 do bot if we kepe þes *commaundement3*.

O Lord, if a kyng byt a þyng beo keped to alle hys
 10 lyge men vp peyne of here lyf, how bysyliche wolde þey

T

{*Capitulum Primum*}

Alle maner of men shulden holde Goddis biddyngis, for f.9^r
 wyþouten holdyng of hem may no man be saued. And so þe
 Gospel telliþ hou oon axide Crist what he shulde do for to
 5 come to heuene and Crist bad hym, if he wolde entre into
 blisse, þat he shulde kepe þe *maundementis* of God; [and] þes
 kepen þe Iewes, as alle sectis shulden, for alle we shulden
 be Cristen men, *and* treuly serue God, but þis we may not do
 but if we kepe þes *maundmentis*.
 10 O Lord, if a kyng bid a þing to be kept to alle hise
 lege men vpon peyne of her lijf, hou bisily wold þei

B: 3 (*mar. Matheu 19*) 9 (*mar. Exemplum*)

T: (*rubric*: Here bigynneþ þe ten comaundementis Y) 1 *Capitulum Primum*
om. HY, *mar.*T 2 men] men þat wullen be þe chiledren of Godde H 3 hem]
 þem H 6 blisse] þe blisse H, *maundementis*] *comaundementis* Y, and]
 for T 7 þe] *om.* HY 8 þis] þus Y, we may] *trs.* H 10 O] A Y,
 bid] bad Y, to be] bidone or H, be Y 11 vpon] vp HY, her] þer HY

B

kepe þis commaundement. Bot byleue techen ous þat God is
 more lord þan eny erpeliche man may beo in þis world; and wel
 we wyten þat, as a lord ys more in himself, so scholde his
 byddyng beo more ykeped and yworsched. Bot who woteth not
 5 þat God ne scholde beo most loued? And Crist seiþ þat what
 man loueth him wel schal kepe his word, þat is his byddyng.
 And if þou seye that scharplokere beþ kynges byddynges execut
and more scharp censures beþ put on men þat breken hem þan
 for brekyng of Godes byddynges (for who techen oþer sueþ
 10 þe commaundementis of God?), O þenke wyslyche þe witt of

T

[k]epe þis maundement. But bileue techen vs þat God is more
 Lord þan ony erpeli man may be in þis world; and wel we
 witen þat, as þe lord is more in himself, so [þe more] shulden hise
 biddynge be kuned, kept *and* worshipid. But who woot not þat
 5 ne God shulde be moost loued? And Crist seiþ þat what man
 loueth him wel shal kepe his word, þat is his biddynge. And if
 þou seye þat sharplier ben kyngis biddynge execute *and* more
 sharpe censures ben putt vpon men þat breken hem (for who
 techen or sueþ þe maundementis of God?), O þenke wisely þe witt

B: 5 (*mar.* John 14)

T: 1 kepe] hepe T, þis maundement] þæt biddynge H 2 Lord] *om.* Y
 3 þæt] *om.* Y, so] *om.* Y, þe more] *om.* TY 4 biddynge] biddynge H,
 5 loued] loued *and* thankide H 7 kyngis] þe kingis H 8 vpon] on HY,
 hem] þem H, for] *om.* H

B

þe Lord, how þat he wolde þat frelyche his *commaundementz*
were ykept, for bot þey beo [wilfullyche] ykept þe mede is aweye.

And wyte þou wele þat he haþ ybede þe vpon grete peyne
{to kepe þes *commaundementz*: þat is vpon peyne} of dampnacioun

- 5 in helle. And he may nouzt forgete or fayle for to 3yue it to
whomeuere þat kepeþ nouzt hys hestes þat he byddeþ. Ne no
þyng may bowe him fro his purpos, for it were expresse azen
his owne word þat ys yrad yn þe Holy Gospel, whare he seyþ
himself /þat he schal 3eue troweliche to eueryche man ryzt as f.73^v
10 he haþ deserued. *And oure beleue witnesseth þe same*; for as he
wole ous lyue in hope to haue heuene blysse, so he wole þat

T

of þis Lord, hou he wolde þat frely hise *maundmentis* weren
kept, for but if þei be wilfully kept þe mede is away.

- And wite þou wel þat he haþ bedun vpon greet peyne to kepe
þes *maundmentis*: vpon dampnyng in helle; *and* he may not forgete
5 þis peyne or faile for to 3yue it to whomeuer þat kepith
not þe bihestis þat he biddith, ne freris ne preieres may bowe
him fro þis purpos. But as he wole vs to lyue in hope of
hauyng of his bliss, so he wole þat we triste þat alle men

B: 2 wilfullyche] wel 4 to kepe þes *commaundementz* þat is vpon peyne]
corr.mar. 9 (*mar.* *Matheu* 16 *ratio* 20)

T: 1 þis] þe H, he wolde þat frely] freli þæt he wold H, *maundmentis*]
comaundementis Y 2 be] {be} *corr.int.* Y, wilfully] wele H 3 vpon] vp H,
on Y 4 *maundmentis*] *comaundementis* 3he Y, vpon *dampnyng in*] *and* þæt peyn
is þe peyn of H, not] noght H 5 þis] þæt H, whomeuer] whom H, kepith]
kep H 6 þe] his HY, bihestis] heestis Y, þæt he biddith] *om.* H 7 þis] þæt H,
vs to] þæt we H, us Y 7-8 of hauyng of] for to haue H 8 he wole] *trs.* HY

B

we triste þat alle men schal beo dampned þat kepeþ nouȝt his
commaundementȝ, syþ þey beþ pure lyȝte. Bot þis grete Lord, syþ
he ys ful of mercy, haþ ȝeue ous tyme to kepe hem for tyme of
oure lyf, and specialliche in ous ende, if we schulle beo
5 sauf; for al onelyche he ys saued of God þat in tyme of his
deþ is founde in his seruyce.

And wyte þou wel þat it is lytel ynow to kepe continuelliche
his hestes to make a goed ende; for Seynt Austyn seyþ þat ous
laste day is to ous vnknowe for we scholde spende wel alle oþer
10 dayes. *And* we scholde haue yn ous mynde þat alle we schulleþ
passe þurgh þe zate of deþe; for Seynt Austyn seyþ þat alle men
þat lyueþ on eorþe in þe day of dome schal deye bodyliche, and

T

shulen be dampned þat kepen not his maundementis, siþ þei
ben pure list. But þis greet Lord, siþ he is ful of mercy,
haþ ȝyuen vs tyme to kepe hem for tyme of ous lijf, *and*
specialy in ous ende, if we shal be saaf; for al oonly he
5 is sauȝd of God þat /in tyme of his deþ is founden in his f.9^v
seruyse.

And wite þou wel þat it is litil ynow to kepe
contynu{e}ly hise heestis to make a good ende:

B: 8 (*mar. Augustinus*)

T: 1 not] noȝt H, maundementis] commaundements HY, siþ] sythen H

3 hem] þem H 4 saaf] saued H 5 tyme] þe tyme H, deþ] dȝinge H

8 contynuely] *corr.int.* T

B

whanne Crist schal alyzte to deme þay scha<l> sodeynliche
aryse azeyn. For Seynt Bernard {sei<p>}, 'It <ys> certeyn
þat þou schalt deye, bot it is vncerteyn wham<e>, oþer how,
oþer where, for oueral deþ abydeþ þe, bot, and þou beo wyse,
5 þou schalt abyde him.' Þerfore, þe wyse man warneþ þe *and* seyþ,
'Haue mynde, for deþ schal nouzt tarye.' And he ne ȝeueþ nouzt
þis conseilliche onlyche for oolde men *and* feble *and* syke, bot also
for ȝoonge men and boolde *and* stronge. For euerych day a man
neyȝeþ to his deþ nere and nere; for þe more a man in his
10 lyf wexeþ in dayes *and* ȝeres, þe more he vnwexeþ, for, as
seyntes seggeþ, þe furste day in þe weke þat a man is ybore
ys þe furste day of his deþ, for eueryche day he is deying
whyle he is in þis lyf.

And þerfore seyþ þe Gospel: 'Awake, for þou wost neuere
15 whiche oure God is to come,'/wheþer in þy ȝonge age, oþer in f.74r
þy myddel age, oþer in þy laste dayes, or pryueliche, oþer
openlyche. And, þerfore, loke þou beo alwey bysy in his seruise
and þenne, what tyme euer he come, þou mayst beo to him redy;
for it is semeliche þat [þe] seruant abyde þe lord, and nouzt
20 þe lord his seruant. *And* nameliche whanne gret hast ys, he is
worþy blame þat is þenne vnredy; bot gretter hast no man
redeþ of þan schal beo in comyng of Crist. And þus þou mayst

B: 2 sei<p>] *corr.int.* 14 (*mar.* [Mark] 13 [Mark] 14] *Matheu* 13
Matheu 14) 19 þe] *om.* 21 blame] þis *canc.*

B

wel yknowe þat it is lytel ynow to kepe continuelliche Godes
hestes to make a goed ende: þy gostlyche enemys, and
specialliche þe fendes, beoþ faste aboute to tempte þe in þe
oure of deep, bot syþ God may nouzt bydde bot skylful þyng
5 and lyzt, wete we wel þat we may [ay] kepe þes ten *commaundement3*;
for as he þat brekeþ oon offendeþ in alle, so he þat kepeþ
wel oon kepeþ hem alle.

Capitulum Secundum

Prestes scholde teche þes *commaundement3* of God and publissche
10 hem wiþ al here myzt to the *commune* peple, for þis

T

þi goostli enemyes, *and*
specialy þe fend, *ben* faste aboute to tempte þee *in* our of
þi deþ, but siþ God may not bidde but skilful þing *and* list,
wite we wel þat we may ay kepe þes ten *comaundmentis*; for
5 as he þat brekiþ oon offendip *in* alle, so he þat wel kepiþ
oon kepiþ hem alle.

Capitulum Secundum

Prestis shulden teche þes *comaundementis* of God, *and*
puplishe hem at her myzt to þe comoun puple, for þis is þe

B: 2 þy] for þy 5 ay] *om.*

T: 1 þi] for þi T 2 our] þe ouur HY 3 þi] þe Y, siþ] sen H 4 ay] *om.* HY,
kepe] kepe truli Y, þes ten *comaundementis*] þem and we wille; *and* so myche
þe more we ben to blame *and* we brek any oun of þem H, þese *comaundementis* Y
om. Y, 5 as] *om.* H, so] and so H, wel] *om.* HY 6 hem] *om.* H
7 *Capitulum Secundum*] *om.* H 9 hem] þem H, at] *with* alle H, her] þer Y

B

is þe moste worschep þat we do here to God and þe most profit þat
we do here to his Chirche. Bot I drede me þat we beo bailleys
of erreure for þes commaundement3. And, for þay scholde beo
freschliche in mynde, þey bep departed in ten, and God spake hem
5 as þey bep ywryte in þe secunde boke of Holy Wryt, and þere þe
boke spekep þus: 'God haþ yspoke alle þes wordes: "Ich am þy
Lord God þat haue ylad þe out of þe lond of Egypte of þe house
of þraldom. Þou schalt haue none alyene godes before me. Þou
schalt nouzt make þe an ymage graue by mannes honde, ne no
10 lykenesse þat is in heuene aboue and þat is in eorþe byneþe,
noþer of hem þat bep in wateres vnder þe eorþe. Þou /schalt f.74^v
nouzt worschepe ne herye hem. Ich am þy Lord þy God a
strange loue gelouse. Ich visyte þe wykkednesse of fadres
into here children into þe þrydde and ferþe generacioun of
15 hem þat hateþ me, and I do mercy into a þousand
kynredenys of hem þat loueþ me and kepeþ myn hestes.

Þou schalt nouzt take þe name of þy Lord God in vayn;

T

moost worship þat we don here to God *and* þo moost
profijt þat we don to his Chirche, but y drede me þat
we ben bailies of errour.

Þes comaundementis, for þei shulden be freishlier
5 in mynde, ben partid in ten and in two boþe.

B: 6 (*mar. Primum mandatum*) 13-14 fadres into] þe þrydde *canc.*

17 (*mar. Secundum*)

T: 4 comaundementis] maundementis Y, for] *om.* Y,

freishlier] frescher Y 5 boþe] *om.* H

B

for soþe þe Lord God schal nouȝt haue him gultelys þat takeþ
Godes name yn ydel.

- Haue mynde to halewe þe day þat is Godes Sabote. In
syxe dayes þou schalt worche and do alle þyne owne workes,
5 bot þe seueþe day ys reste of þy Lord God, and þat day schalt
þou do no seruyle workes; noþer þy sone ne douȝter, þy seruant
noþer þy mayde, þy worke best ne þy straunger þat dwelleþ in
þyn hous. For in syxe dayes God made heuene and eorþe *and* see,
and alle þyng þat is wipynne hem *and* reste þe seueþe day; and
10 herfore he blessedede þe Sabot, and maked þis day holy.

Worschepe þy fader and þy moder, þat þou beo in longe
lyf vpon eorþe þat þy Lord God schal ȝeue þe.

Þou schalt nouȝt slee.

Þou schalt nouȝt do lecherye.

- 15 Þou schalt nouȝt do þefþe.

Þou schalt nouȝt speke fals wytnesse azens þy neyȝebore.

Þou schalt nouȝt coueyte þy neyȝebores hous.

Þou schalt nouȝt desyre þe wyf of þy neyȝebore, ne his seruant,
ne his mayde, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne eny þyng þat is his."

- 20 Þes beoþ þe ten *commaundement*ȝ þat God spake as it
is yseyd before. And alle men haueþ nouȝt ryȝt
vnderstandyng of hem. Wharfore take hede wip clene soule

B: 3 (*mar. Tertium*) 6 no] no /no 11 (*mar. Quartum*) 13 (*mar.*
Quintum) 14-15 (*mar. Sextum et Septimum*) (16 (*mar. Octavum*)
17 (*mar. Nonum*) 18 (*mar. Decimum*)

B

- and goed entent, *and* ofte rede oþer hyre þe scripture þat folweþ
and, grace of God helpyng, þou mayst of hem beo broust to goed
vnderstandyng. And þus wolde God þat lordes, ladyes and oþer
/gentyles, boþe of men and wommen, wolde of hem take kepe and f.75^r
- 5 haue hem frelych and freslyche in here mynde, [to] worschep to
God *and* helpyng to alle trewe Cristene peple, þat is Holy Church,
techyng hem to here children [*and*] seruant3 *and* com[en]yn[ge]
of hem wiþ lewed peple þat conneþ no letterure. For in þe fyfþe
boke of Holy Wryt, þe Holy Gost seyþ þus: 'Þes wordes þat I
10 speke to þe þis day schal beo in þyn heorte, and þou schalt
telle hem to þy children, *and* þou schalt þenke hem syttyng in
þyn hous and goyng in þe wey, *and* þou schalt bynde hem in þyn
hond as a tokyn, slepyng *and* arysing, and hy schulleþ be meued
bytwene þyne ey3es, *and* þou schalt write hem in þy dores of þyn
15 hous.' And þus alle men, by heste of God, beþ yholde in here
spekyng, seyng, hyryng, goyng, syttyng, stondyng, and in
alle here dedys doying, to haue Godes *commaundement3* fresliche
in here mynde, to reule himself by hem *and* to goed informacioun
of here children and of alle oþer dwellyng aboute hem.
- 20 For if ech man wolde bysy himselfe to lerne and comene
Godes hestes eche wiþ oþere, as Cristen men scholde do, as
bysyliche as many men doþ aboute folyes *and* diuerse vaniteys
þat neuere turneþ to profest bot to moche meschief and

B: 5 to] *om.* 7 *and*] *om.*, comenyng] comyn

9 (*mar.* Deutronomie 6)

B

myspendyng of tyme, þe peple scholde nouȝt beo so vicious in
here lyuynges aȝens Godes lawe, ne here children to hem so
rebelles *and* vnþyngly as hy al day beþ bycome. Þerfore doþ as þe
wyse man conseilþ and folwe him. He seȝþ, 'Be al þy narracioun,
5 or þy dalyance, in þe hestes of almyȝty God.'

And þen a-se þe goydenesse of him þat putteþ alle his
commādemētȝ in ten, þat þou scholdest lytlyche conne hem *and*
haue hem in þy mynde, as I tolde before, and also in to boþe.
Ȝe, þey beþ gadred into on, as Seint Poul techeþ, for kepe þe
10 in charite *and* þou kepest þe ten commādemētȝ. Charite
stondeþ in þes two branches: in loue /of God as þou f.75^v
scholdest and in loue of þy neȝebore; *and* herefore [God] ȝaf
Moyses two tables of þe lawe. Þe fyrste table techeþ men to

T

Ȝe, þei ben gederid *in* on, as Seynt Poul techeþ, for
kepe þee *in* charite *and* þou kepest þes ten heestis.
Charite stondeþ *in* þes two braunchis: *in* loue of God as þou
shuldest, *and* loue of þi neȝebore; and herfore God ȝaf Moyses
5 two tables of þe lawe. Þe first table techeþ men for to

B: 8 (*mar. Matheu* 22) 9 (*mar. Romayns*.13) 12 God] *om.*

T: 1 þei ben gederid *in*] *and* H 2 þes ten heestis] alle þe oþer H,
ten] *om.* Y 3 braunchis] branches only H, loue] þe luf H 3-4 as
þou shuldest] *om.* H 4 God] [God] *corr.mar.* H, (*mar. Exodus* 20 T)

B

loue God and conteyneþ þre *commaundement*3, as Godes lawe techep.

Þe secunde table conteyneþ þe oþer seuene *commaundement*3,
and techep for to loue þy neyzebore as þou scholdest, and þes
seuene *and* þe oþer þre of þe fyrste table makeþ ten

- 5 *commaundement*3. We haue no myzt to telle þe auctorite of þes
hestes ne alle þe resons þat scholde meue men to holde hem,
but on þyng scholde we knowe of oure goede God: þat he
byddyth no man do [bot] for vauntage of himself ne nouzt
bot þat we may lyztliche performe, for Crist himself seiþ
10 þat his 3oke is softe and his charge lyzt. And Seynt Austyn

T

loue God *and* conteyneþ þre *maundementis* as Goddis lawe
techep. Þe secound conteyneþ oþere seuene *maundementis*, þat
techep þe for to loue þi neizbore as þou shuldest, *and* þes þre
and seuene maken ten *comaundmentis*. We han no myzt to telle
5 autorite of þes heestis, ne alle þe resouns þat shulden
moeue men to holde hem, but oo þing shulden we knowe
of oure good God: þat he biddiþ no man do [but] for vauntage
of hymself, ne nouzt þat he may not listly performe, for
Crist himsilf seiþ þat his 3ok is soft *and* charge is list

B: 1 (*Capitulum Tercium*) 5 auctorite] auctorites 8 bot] *om.* 9 (*mar.*
Matheu xi)

T: 1 *maundementis*] *comaundementis* H 1-2 as Goddis lawe techep] *om.* H 2 secound]
secunde table Y, *maundementis*] *comaundementis* Y 2-4 þat techep þe for to loue
þi neizbore as þou shuldest *and* þes þre *and* seuene maken ten *comaundmentis*] *om.* H
3 techep] techen Y, for] *om.* Y 4 We] And we H, to] for to HY 5 autorite] þe
autorite H, alle] alle þe halfe H 6 holde] kepe H, hem] þem H, shulden we]
trs. Y 7 but] *om.* HTY 8 nouzt] nozt bote H, not] *om.* H 9 *and*] *and* his HY

B

seyþ, 'If we wollep deserue meydes of euerlestyng lyf hye
we wip alle oure strengþes to fulfille Godes hestes,' for
his hestes bep heuy to hem þat nelleþ kepe hem and lyst to
hem þat wollep. And so studye wyselyche wat were þe beste for
5 þe to kumme and to worche and þat þy Lord byddep þe.

Iblessed be þis ryche Lorde and hende in his byddyng.
He is ryche for he hap no nede to oure seruise. He is hende for
he axep þat most profiteþ ous. Who wolde nouzt loue suche a
Lord and serue him wip goed wille? Bot þenke þat we bep
10 children and coueyteþ ofte þynges þat were moche aþens ous,
for we se nouzt al. And þerfore it is nedful to be grounded

T

to men þat louen him. Ande so studie wisely what were best
for þee to kumme *and* to worche, *and* þat þi Lord biddip þee do.

Blessid be þis riche Lord and hende *in* his biddyng. He
is riche for he hap no nede of oure seruyse. He is hende for
5 he axep þat þat moost profitip to /vs. Who wold not loue siche f.10^r
a Lord *and* serue him wip will? But þenke þat we ben children,
and coueiten ofte þingis þat weren myche aþens vs, for we seen
not al. And þerfor it is nedeful to be groundid *in* bileue,

T: 1 wisely] *om.* H 2 for þee] *om.* H, do] *om.* Y 3 Blessid] Nowe
blesside H, biddyng] biddyngs H 5 axep] askes nothing of vs bot H,
þat þat] þat Y, loue] serue H 6 serue him wip will] herteli luf him H,
þat we ben] we þat we H 7 ofte] ofte tym H, aþens] ageyn H

B

in byleue and se [afer] in byleue to þe ende of þe wordle;
and so we may wyte what were goed for ous. For oftymes men
desyreþ þat doep hem moche harm, as children þat beþ wantone
and men þat beþ on feueres; and so many weneþ þat worliche
5 worschep *and* rychesse of þe worlde were best hem to haue, bot,
yf þey seye here ende *and* þe commaundement3 of God and how þes
þynges letteþ hem to kepe Godes hes/tes, þey myzte wel yse þat f.76^r
suche þynges noyeþ many men.

T

and se afer in bileue to eende of þe world; *and* so may we
wite what were good for vs. For ofte tymes men desiren
þat doip hem myche harm, as children þat ben wantoun *and* men
þat ben in feueres; *and* so many wenen þat worldli worship *and*
5 richessis of þe world weren best hem to haue, but, if þei
seiz her eende *and* comaundementis of God *and* hou þes þingis
letten hem to kepe Goddis heestis, þei myzten wel se þat
siche þingis noyen many men.

B: 1 afer] after

T: 1 afer] fer H 2 ofte tymes] oftyme H 3 hem] þem H 4 in]

in þe H, many] many men H, 4-5 worship *and* richessis of þe world] richesse
and worchipes H 5 richessis] richesse Y, hem] for þem H, if] and H
6 her] þeire HY, *and* comaundementis of God *and*] om. H 7 hem] þem H,
Goddis heestis] þe hests of God H 8 men] men. And maken men often more
to tak hede on þe fends biddingis þen onn þe comaundements of Gode H

B
Capitulum Tercium

þe fyrste commaundement of ten þat God himself spake seyþ
þus: 'Ich am þy Lord God þat ladde þe out of Egypt of þe
hous of þraldom.' Bot ar we passe any forþer here in þis
5 commaundement, þou mayst aske a questioun why Crist in Godes lawe
ys ycleped by þes two names 'Lord' and 'oure God', and for what
cause þys name 'Lord' is ynemmed byfore? And I may answepe þat he
is ynemmed by þes two names for two kynnes þynges: þat is, drede
and loue þat we scholde haue to him. And herefore God askep in

T
[Capitulum Tercium] Primum Mandatum

þe first comaundment of ten is seid þus of God: *God himsilf
spak alle þes wordis: I am þe Lord þi God, þat ledde þee out of
þe lond of Egypt, and broust þee out of þat place þere þou
5 seruedist [men]. Þou shalt not haue biforn me aliene goddis.
Þou shalt not make to þee an ymage grauen bi mannes hondis, ne
similitude in heuene, ne erþe, ne of water. Þou shalt not
loute hem ne worshiþe hem as God. Y am þe Lord þi God, a
strong, gelous louter. Y visite wickidnesse of fadir to
10 þe þridde and fourþe children of hem þat hatiden me, and
punyshe hem þerafter, and y do mercy to a þousend kynredis
of men þat louen me and kepen myn hestis.*

T: 1 Capitulum Tercium] om. T, Primum Mandatum] om. HY 2 God
himsilf] for God hymself H 3 þe Lord þi God] Lord þi God Y, God þi
Lord H, 4 þe lond of] om. H, þat] þe HY 5 men] inne T,
not] noȝt H 6 not] noȝt H, to] om. H, hondis] hande HY 7 in] of HY,
erþe] of erthe H, not] noȝt H 8 loute hem] lout þem H, worshiþe hem]
wyrship þem H, þe] om. HY 9 gelous louter] luf geluse HY 10 fourþe]
þe furþe HY, hatiden] haten HY 11 hem] þem H

B

boke of his *prophete*: 'If I am Lord, where ys my drede? And if
he be God, where ys his loue?' And, forþermore, why þis name
'Lord' is yput byfore: for in þis name 'Lord' is vnderstonde drede.
And Seynt Austyn seyþ þat drede bryngeþ in loue as brystyl bryngeþ
5 in þrede, and herefore Godes lawe putteþ þis name {'Lord'} byfore.
And þus þou schalt loue þy God and drede him; for Austyn, þe goede
clerk, seyþ, 'Vnderstonde 3e þe power of God. Vnderstonde 3e þe
mercy of God. Drede 3e his power. Loue 3e his mercy. Ne
presume 3e so moche of his mercy þat 3e sette noust of his power,
10 noþer drede 3e so moche his power þat 3e falle into dyspere of
his mercy. For in him is power, in him is mercy and al goednesse.'

T

Þis word of oure God is chargid wip witt more þan we kan
telle, or may for þis tyme, but oo þing shulde we take of Goddis
lawe: þat he medliþ togidre wordis of loue *and* drede; for bi loue
and drede lediþ he hise children, *and* chastisiþ hem bi þes two, as
5 bi 3erde *and* staff. But siþ man shulde kyndly be led bi loue,
he medliþ more of loue þan he doiþ of drede; *and* herfore,
he strecchiþ his veniaunce to men vnto þe þridde *and* fourþe
generacioun, but hise werkis of loue he strecchiþ til a
þousend; *and* so witt *and* strengþe he medliþ togidre, to
10 tokene þat eche man is holden to /loue him, *and* þat no man may f.10^v
asterte knowleche of him ne, if he do amys, peyne þat he is
worpi.

B: 5 Lord] *corr.mar.*

T: 1 God] Lorde HY 2 oo] on H 3 drede] of drede H 5 siþ] siþen H
7 fourþe] þe furþe HY 8 til] to HY 9 þousend] thousand generacioun H,
to] o Y 10 to] for to H 11 knowleche] þe knowleche H

B

Wherefore we scholde haue freliche in mynde þat oure
hendy Lord God, by power, wysdome *and* his benygne and mercyful
grace, ladde þe children of Israel out of Egypte, of þe hous
of þraldome, fro þe power of Pharao; and how also, by his
5 power, wysdome *and* benigne and mercyful grace, he ledeþ ous fro
Egypte, fro þe hous of þraldome *and* fro þe power of Pharao.
For by þis word 'Egypte' beþ vnderstonde derkenesses. And by
dedly synne, God, þat is lyzte of mannes soule *and* al cunnyng,
pas/seþ fro mannes soule, and þenne he is in 'Egypte', þat is f.76'
10 to mene: in derkenesse of ignorance *and* vncumynge to knowe
þynges þat myzte him helpe. For his soule, as þe Gospel telleþ,
is þe hous of an vnclene spirit, and þenne is he vnder þe power
of 'Pharao', by wham is vnderstonde þe deuel, þat is lord and
prince of alle men *and* wommen þe wyche knoweþ hemself vnderput
15 and soget to dedly synne.

And þe holy clerk Seynt Austyn seyþ þat a man ys
seruant of so many lordes as he doþ synnes. And also
Criste in þe Gospel seyþ þat he þat doþ synne is seruant
to synne. And so, for luste *and* lykyng þat meny men and
20 wymmen haueþ in here synne, bryngeþ hemself *wiþ* here
owene fre wil in þe deuel of helle hous, þat is an hous of
gret þraldome. For Jon Crisostome, þe worschepful clerk,
seyþ þat we alle, byfore tyme ar we falle into syme, we haueþ

B

- a fre choyse whaper we wolleþ suy þe deuel or no. Bot if we
 ones, synwyng, bynde ous, he seyþ in his werkes, þenne we may
 nouzt, by oure owene vertue, astyrt his bondes; bot ryzt as a
 schype, whenne his helme þat he is lad by is tobroke, ys
 5 ydryue whoder þe tempest wole, ryzt so a man þat by synne
 hap ylost þe helpe of grace of God almysty doþe nouzt þat he
 wolde himself, bot þat his lord þe deuel wole. And bot God,
 he seyþ, wiþ strong honde of his mercy vnbynde him, anone to
 þe deþ he schal dwelle in þe bondes of his synnes. For ryzt
 10 as a fyssch goþ into þe wyle whenne þat he wole bot, whenne
 he ys inne, he may nouzt oute whenne he wolde, ryzt so a man,
 ar he synwy, hap liberal arbitrement wheþer he wole be
 vnder þe deueles kyngdom oper no; bot whenne, þurgh synne, he
 hap yput himself vnder his kyngdom, þenne he may nouzt, by
 15 his owen vertu, go oute of his power. Perfore God /spekeþ by f.77^r
 þe prophete and seyþ: 'Þou, man, þy lo[s]te is of þyself and
 onlyche þyn helpe is of me.' And so, wherne a man forsakeþ
 his synne by contricioun [*and*] confessioun, *and* doþ, by hys
 power, satisfaccioun, *purposynge* hollyche to kepe him fro dedly
 20 synne, and mekelyche þonkeþ his God, knowlechyng þat nouzt by
 vertu of himself bot by fre grace of God goynge byfore he
 aloped and forsoke þe horþe of synne, and þenne seyþ, as dyde
 Paule, 'By [þi] grace ich am þat ich am,' and, forþer, byseche[þ]
 grace of God to contynue his lyf in goede werkes, þat he may

B

- seye forþer wiþ Poule, 'And his grace in me was nouȝt voyde',
to alle þat þus, by þe grace of God, conteyneþ here lyf me
may seye wiþ þe apostol, 'By grace ȝe beþ made saue.' *And* so man
þat for synne ys in power *and* kyngdome of þe fende may [nouȝt],
5 by vertu of himself, be delyuered of his power, bot onlyche by
þe mercyful honde and power of God, for nouȝt of þe werkes
of ryȝtfulnesse, seyeb Poule, þat we haueþ ywrouȝt bot after
his mercy he haþ made ous saue. And so alday he ledeþ mankynde
out of Egypte of þe hous of þraldome *and* fro þe power of
10 Pharao.
- The boke telleþ how clerkes seyþ þat a childe, byfore
þat it ys cristened, it haþ a wykked spiryt dwellynge in hys
soule, þe whiche wykked spiryt is acomered *and* yscomfytet þurgh
grace of God *and* by prayere of þe preste byfore þe churche
15 dore whanne þe child schal be cristned; þe whiche sacrament
of baptisme is ground *and* begynnyng of alle sacramentȝ, as was
veryliche betokened in þe passioun of Criste by water þat
ran out of his syde whanne al his blod was go. So þat, by þis
sacrament of baptisme, he is delyuered fro þe fendes power *and*
20 ymade Godes childe, and he receyueþ þer parte of þe passioun
of /Criste and of alle sacramentȝ *and* prayeres þat beþ ydo f.77^v
in Holy Churche, and parte of alle goede dedes þat beþ ydo among

B: 1 (*mar.* 1 *Corinthis* 15), voyde] voyde and so 4 nouȝt] *om.*

B

alle Cristene folke. And so, in makynge of þe couenaunte þat he
makeþ þere wiþ God, whenne he forsakeþ þe fendes *pride* and
alle his werkes *and*, by grace of God, knowelecheþ to beo Godes
childe, God, by his power, wysdome and his benigne and
5 mercyful grace, ledeþ him oute of Egypte, of þe hous of
þraldom and fro þe power of Pharao. And þus oure Lord God
hap ylad ous graciousliche of þe lond of Egypte.

And alle þes worchynges and goednesses þat oure Lord
God alday continuelliche scheweþ to ous men scholde teche
10 here children þat haueþ discrecioun, to make hem þe more beter
to loue here God and þe more tenderloker *and* bysyloker to
lerne and to kepe Godes *commaundement3*, as þe Holy Gost
techeþ ous, as it is wryte in þe fyfþe boke of Holy Wryt
where, after rehersyng of þe ten *commaundement3* þe whiche he
15 hoteþ þe to teche þy childe, he seyeþ þus: 'Whanne þy chylde
schal axe þe seyyng, what wolleþ alle þes wytnesses, sermonyas
and domes þat oure Lord God hap yhote to ous do to him, þou
schalt answey azen to þy childe, and telle him þus: "We were
Pharao seruant3 in Egipte, and oure Lord God, wiþ strong honde,
20 hap ylad ous out of Egypte.'" And, forþermore, he scholde telle
him of the plages, toknes and of grete merueilles þat God
schewed azenst Pharao in Egypte, and þe goednesse þat God
byheyzte hem if þey wolde kepe his hestes.

Here we scholde take goed hede how oure goede Lord God
25 wilneþ for to tolle ous into his loue as a boner fader doþ
his childe, for we scholde frelyche, wiþoute seruyly drede,
kepe his hestes and trewelyche serue him. And /for

B

- þis cause, byfore þe comaundement3 he rehercep þe benefetes
þat he hæp ydo { to ous *and* seyþ: 'Ich am þy Lord God þat
ladde þe oute of Egypte of þe hous of þraldome.' In þes
wordes beþ vnderstonde mo benefytes þat he hæp ydo} for ous
5 þan mames wyttes mowe suffice to schewe oþer vnderstonde.
And, next folwyng, he *commaundeþ* and seyþ, 'Pou schalt haue
none alýene godes byfore me. Pou schalt nouzt make þe an
ymage graue by mannes honde, ne no lykenesse þat is in heuene
aboue and þat is in erþe byneþe, noþer of hem þat beþ in
10 wateres vnder eorþe. Pou schalt nouzt worschepe hem ne hery
hem. Ich am þy Lord God a strange loue gelouse *et cetera*.

Meny men wenep þat þey kepeþ þis *commaundement*, and

T

- And so þis comaundement bitokenep God þe Fader, for oonhed, bi
sum cause, is *propred* to þe Fader, *and* þis maundement biddiþ þee to
haue but oon God, for Fadir *and* Sone *and* Hooli Goost ben þe same God,
and þes þre maundementis of þe first table menen þes þre persones
5 in maner of her speche. And so, siþ noþing may be verrey God but oon,
whoeuer makyþ *him* many goddis mut haue summe false, *and*, for þis is
straunge fro resoun of oure God, wel ben sicke clepid aliene goddis.

Capitulum Quartum

- 10 But for men wenen þat þei kepen þis comaundment, *and*

B: 2-4 to ous....hæp ydo] *corr.mar.*

T: 1 þis comaundement bitokenep] þis comaundementis betokenen H 3 Fadir]

þe Fader H, Sone] þe Son H, Hooli] þe Holi HY 4 þes²] *om.* H, þe Y

5 her] þeir HY, siþ] sen H 6 mut] hym most H 10 (*mar. Capitulum Quartum* T)

B

3itt on many wyse þey lyueþ þer azen. Perfore we schulleþ ywyte
þat what kynnes þyng a man loueþ most he makeþ his god and,
syþþe alle synne stondeþ in loue, eueryche heed synne draweþ
wip him brekyng of þis heste. For alle dedly synnes beþ
5 forbode in þis heste, and who þat synweþ in eny dedly synne
he brekeþ þis *commaundement* and makeþ him a false god. And so
þes ten *commaundementz* beþ as ten myroures þat men may se
hemself þerinne, wheþer þey plese God or no; for if þou holde
eny of hem þou plesest þy God. And syþ þer be þre synnes, as
10 Seynt Ion seyeþ, þat wrappeþ alle oþer synnes þat eny man can
rekene, [herefore] on þre wyse may a man breke þis

T

3itt on many wise þei lyuen þerazens, þerfore we shulden
wite þat what kyn þing þat a man loueþ mo{o}st he makeþ his god.
And so, siþ al synne stondiþ in loue, euery heed synne
draweþ wip him brekyng of þis heest. And so þes ten
5 heestis ben as ten myroures þat men may se hemsilf
ynne, wheþer þei plese God; for if þou holde ony of hem þou
plesist þi God. And siþ þer ben þre synnes, as Seynt Ion
seiþ, þat wlappen alle oþer synnes þat ony man kan
rekene, herfore on þre wise may man breke þis

B: 11 herefore] wherefore

T: 1 wise] wyses H, þerazens] noȝt þerafter H, þerazen Y 2 þat a] om. H,
moost] *corr.int.* T, he] þæt he H 3 siþ] sen H, synne stondiþ] sinnes
standen H 4 þis heest] þis hestis H, þes] as Y 5 hemsilf] þemseluen H
6 hem] þem H 7 þi] om. H, siþ] sen H, ben] is H 8 wlappen] wrapen
in H

B

commaundement. Þes þre synnes stondeþ in þes þre loues:

loue of flessche, or loue of eyzen, oþer pryde of þis lyff.

Bot desyre of flesche is oure on enemy, as wytnesseþ Seynt

Bernard and seyþ of him þus: 'I may noust fle my body ne

- 5 dryue him away. It is nedful to bere him aboute, for it is
ybounde to me. To spille him it is noust lausom. To susteyne
him ich am yconstrayned. Whenne ich make him fatte myn enemy
aȝenst me ich norysche.' And so þis enemy stereþ mannes soule
into loue of two synnes þat beþ fleshlyche, þat beþ

- 10 glotenye *and* lecherye þat /comeþ of glotenye. f.78^v

To coueyti{se} of eyȝe syst stereþ þe secunde enemy, þat
is þe world, *and* so into þe loue of two oþer synnes, þat beþ
coueytise of þe worlyche godes and so into slowþe; for
comenlyche ryche men beþ slowe in Godes seruyce and lusteþ

- 15 hem in lykynges of here godes, as a sowe or a swyn doþ in þe
myre and mukke. To pride of lyf, þat stondeþ in loue of
worschep of þe world, styreþ þe fend of helle, and so into
two oþer synnes, þat beþ wreþe and enuye. *And* so in loue of þes
þre synnes beþ wrapped alle maner synnes þe whiche beþ
20 forbode in þis heste where God hoteþ þe þat þou scholdest

T

comaundment. Þes þre synnes stonden in þes þre loues:

loue of fleish, *and* loue of yȝen, and pride of þis lijf.

B: 11 coueytise] *corr.int.*

T: 2 yȝen and] yȝen and luf þat is H, þis] *om.* H

B

haue none alyene godes byfore him, ne make þe no lyknesse þat is
in heuene aboue, and þat is in erþe byneþe, ne of hem þat beþ in
wateres vnder þe erþe; þou schalt nouȝt worschepe hem ne herye hem.

Þis is vnderstonde þus: for cause þat no þyng scholde be loued

- 5 most bot þat þat is best and most worþy to be loued, and þat is
God alone, þerfore scholde God most be loued; and so, what
þyng eny man or womman loueþ most, þat þey makeþ here God.

And so glotouns *and* lechours brekeþ þis heste. And

herfore seyþ Poul þat þes grete glotons makeþ here bely here

- 10 god for loue þat þey loueþ it and, by þe same skyle, þes
foule lechours makeþ here god þe fleslyche baly of a lecherous
womman. For God byddeþ þe loue him ouer alle þyng; bot
eche man *and* womman loueþ þat þyng more þan God for þe whiche
þyng, whateuer it be, þay brekeþ Godes heste. And

T

And so glotouns *and* lecchours breken þis heest. And

herfor seiþ Poul þat þes greete glotouns maken her here bely her god,
for loue þat þei louen it and, bi þe same skile, þes foule
lecchours maken her god þe taile eende of an hoore. For

- 5 God biddiþ þee loue *him* ouer al þing,

B: 12 *womman*] For man *and* womman loueþ þat þyng more þan God for þe whiche
þyng whateuer it be *canc.*

T: 2 maken her here] makyn þeir HY, her god] þeir god H 3 loue]
þe luf H, þe] þis HY 4 her god þe taile eende of an hoore] þe tail end
of a hore þeir god ffor luf þat he loues it H, For] And H.

B

þus þay mowe yknowe þat hy loueþ nouȝt God ouer alle þyng.
And syþ þat God byddeþ ous nouȝt do bot þat þat is goed *and*
moste profyȝt to ous, we scholde put his byddyng byfore alle
oper þynges and byddynges. For whas byddyng þat a man
5 putteþ byfo/re oper, in þat he loueþ him more þan he doþ þat f.79^r
oper þyng whas byddyng he putteþ byhynde *and* serueþ þat oper
fyrst. Now God byddeþ þe fede þe wiþ mete and drynke and
oper sustynauȝce in mesure; and yf þou passe þis mesure for
luste of þy bely, þe meuyng and luste of þy flesche styreþ
10 þe more to do þat þy flesche axeþ þan meuyng of God. And so,
whanne þou consentest to do þe wil and desyre of þe flesche
and putttest byhynde þe heste *and* desyre of God, þou makest
falslych þy bely þy god and dost aȝenst þis commaundement,
in þe whiche God byddeþ þe þat þou scholdest make þe no

T

and what þing he biddiþ þee do, putte it bifore oper. For whos
bid dyng þat a man puttiþ bifore opere, in þat he loueþ him
more þan þat oper þing whos bid dyng he puttiþ bihynde *and*
serueþ þat oper first. Now God biddiþ þee fede þe in mesure;
5 *and* if þou passe þis mesure for lust of þi bely, þe moeuyng
of þi fleish stirriþ þee more to do þat þi fleish axiþ þan
moeuyng of God, /and so þou makest falsly þi bely þi god. f.11^r

T: 1 þing] þæt H, om. Y 2-3 him more] more þem H, 3 þat oper] þe toþer Y
4 þat oper] to þe H, þe toþer Y 5 bely] body H 6 þat] þæt þat H
7 God] þi God HY

B

lyknesses of hem þat beþ yn wateres vnder þe erþe. For in
þes beþ vnderstonde flesclyche lustes þat glotons *and*
lecherous men and wommen most loueþ.

- And in þis wyse coueytouse men and wommen makeþ hem
5 false godes of wordelyche godes þe whiche þey loueþ most *and*
setteþ most here herte and tryste on hem, as on londes, rentes
gold, seluer, oþer in eny oþer catel for þe whiche, wheþer it
be for luste oþer wynnyng, þey brekeþ Godes comaundement;
or on wyue, childe, oþer eny oþer creature for whas plesance
10 or lykyng þay dop azens Godes hestes. And so alle chynches *and*
coueytous men makeþ þes wordlyche goodes synfulliche here
false godes. And herefore seþ Poule þat coueytyse in suche
þynges is seruise of mamettes *and* so of false godes, *and* þerfore
alle suche brekeþ þis *commaundement* where God byddeþ hem
15 make no [l]ykenesse of þyng þat is on erþe, in þe whiche beþ
vnderstonde þes erþelyche goodes. And moche more proute men

T

And on þis wise þe coueitous man þat synneþ *in* coueitise
of worldly goodis makip his mawmet þes worldli goodis. And
herfore seiþ Poule þat auarice of sicke þing is *seruise* of
mawmetis, as to false goddis. *And* myche more þe proud man

B: 12 (*mar. Colocensis* 3) 13 (*mar. Ephesiis* 5) 15 lykenesse] kykenesse

T: 2 his mawmet þes worldli goodis] þe temporalle godis his mawment H,
his mawmet þes teporal goodis Y 3 herfore] þerfore H, auarice of]
auerice *in* HY, *seruise* of] seruant to H, *seruice* to Y 4 to] *om.* H

B

and wommen makeþ þe fend here god, for þe fend is kyng of alle
proute children, and in þat þat a man oþer womman zeueþ him
to pryde *and* leueþ mekenesse of herte þat Criste Ihesu byddeþ
him to lerne he makeþ þe fend his god *and* forsakeþ Crist. And
5 so pay þat setteþ here /hertes most on worldelyche worschepe f.79^v
and on veyneglorye *and* heynesse of hemself brekeþ þis
commaundement. In þis synne of pryde synwed Lucyfer þe hey
angel of heuene, whanne he þouzte in his herte þus: 'I schal
go vp into þe heuene and I schal enhauunce my sete aboue þe
10 sterres (þat is to seye, þe anges of heuene) and I schal be
lyche to him þat is alþerheyzest (þat is God himself).' Bot for
he wolde make himself so heyze, þerfore he fel lowest into
þe deppest put of helle. And þerfore seyþ Seynt Gregory in
a boke: 'If Lucyfer, þurgh pryde, felle adoun out of heuene
15 into helle, how schalt þou, by pryde, come vp into heuene?'
Trist wel þerto, it wole nouzt be. Bot also syker as God is
in heuene, þe heyzer þat þou makest þyself þurgh pryde azenst

T

makeþ þe fend his god, siþ þe fend is kyng of alle
proude children, *and in* þat þat a man zyueþ hym to pride *and*
leeueþ mekenesse of herte þat Ihesu Crist biddiþ he makeþ þe
fend his god *and* forsakiþ Crist. Þus we don *in* dede, houeuere
5 oure mouþ blabere.

T: 1 siþ] sen H, kyng] fader H, of] to H 3 biddiþ] biddis kepe H

B

- þe wyl of God, bot if þou amende þe here bytyme in þis lyfe,
þou schalt euene after þy pryde be þe nerre Lucyfer and
deppur in helle. And herefore lerne of Crist þat is humyl
and meke to sette þyn herte in lowenesse. For þe lower þat
5 þou holdest þe in berynge, þe heyer þou art in syst of God;
and þe more heyer þat þou holdest þe in þy berynge, þe more
lower and fowler þou art in þe syst of God. For alle
suche proute men and wommen forsakeþ Criste þat is humel and
meke *and* make here god þe proute fende of helle and folweþ him.
10 Wherefore hy brekeþ þis commaundement in þat þat hy doþe
aʒens Godes byddynges whare he seip: 'Þou schalt make þe no
lyknesse þat is in heuene aboue.'

- Also alle manere wychecraftes, enchauntements *and* alle
oper dyuerse incantaciouns þat bep ydo by conseilyng of
15 wykked spiritz bep forbode in þis comaundement. For Seynt
Austyn byddeþ trewe prestes to warne þe peple þat suche
maner craftes mowe noust helpe to helpe of syke men, noþer
of syke bestes, lame or sore, bot /pes manere craftes bep f.80^r
greuous and foly waytynges of þe olde enemy þe fende, by þe
20 whiche he purposeþ to bygyle mankyne. And whosoeuere vse
þes, he seip, if he be a clerke he is to be put doune of his
ordre, and if he be a lewed man or womman he is to be cursed.

- Also þe same doctour seip þat we scholde noust kepe
dayes þat bep ycleped 'Egypcians' þe whiche, as ich vnderstonde,
25 bep þe dayes þat men now clepeþ 'dysmale dayes', *and* þes

B

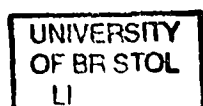
dayes no Cristene peple scholde spare in bygynnyng of
eny worke or iorney, neþer kepe þe kalendys of Januarie in þe
whiche me ȝeueþ ȝiftes eche to oþer as, in begynnyng of þe
ȝere, by enchauntyng of goede hansel, as þough hy seyde oþer
5 þouzte, 'We bylyueþ and trysteþ þurgh þis hansel of þis newe
ȝere spede wel al þe ȝere folwyng.' And if þey haue non
hansel in þe bygynnyng of þe newe ȝere hy vnderstondeþ to
spede þe wors al þe ȝere after. And in þis maner synne
falleþ alle þat in þis manere belyueþ *and* tristep into fangyng
10 of hansel in eny chaffaryng. And þough eny man seye þat he
knoweþ some men fare oþer spede þe betere by suche hansel,
wyte he wel þat it is nouzt so, but it is þe sotylte of þe
fende to brynge hem into mysbyleue. Bot here ȝe schal
vnderstonde þat goede Cristene folk mowe ȝyue ȝyftes eche
15 to oþer for to encresse *and* norysche loue þat is charite, bot
nouzt into þat tryst and bylyue þat ys yspoke byfore,
neyþer into suche entente to haue a grettour ȝyfte aȝen, for
þat were vsure.

Also, Seynt Austyn seip þat we schal nouzt kepe tymes,
20 oþer ȝeres, oþer dayes, oþer course of mowene, oþer of sonne
(þat is to mene for bygynnyng oþer worchyng of eny
profitable *and* lawesom worke oþer for spouselle or weddynges);
or, in gaderyng of herbes for eny medicyne, seye eny charmes;
/oþer for eny sykenesse putte eny scripture vpon man or f.80^v
25 bestes, bot if it be þe Crede, or elles þe Pater Noster. For

B

- þay þat kepeþ, oþer takeþ hede, oþer consentþ to hem þat kepeþ
suche tymes and þes foreseyden þynges oþer eny maner
dyuynaciouns or destynees oþer eny maner enchauntementz,
oþer bylyueþ to hem, or axe hem for þynges þat beþ ylost oþer
5 ystole or to knowe by here crafte þynges tocomynge, oþer
ledeþ hem into here hous, bycause of suche þynges forsakeþ
God, errynge azenst Cristene feyþ. And bot þey by penaunce of
Holy Church beo to God reconsyled, hey ynrenneþ euerdestyng
wreþe of God in peynes of helle wipoute ende. Perfore do we
10 after þe holy apostel Poule þat seyþ, 'Whaþer æ ete oþer
drynke oþer what ouþer þyng euer æ do, doo æ it in þe
name of oure Lord Ihesu Crist in wham we lyue[þ] and dayeþ.'
And elles we doþ azenst Godes *commaundement* and erreþ in þe
feyþ of Holy Church, makynge þe fendes of helle oure godes.
15 For and we were stedefast on goede byleue þat God of heuene
is almyȝty we wolde nouȝt for helpe of oure bodyes or bestes,
oþer for eny worldlyche godes ylost oþer ystole, oþer elles
for to knowe þynges to comynge, or for eny cause, axe helpe of
þes forseiden þynges þat dyuerselyche and sotellyche beþ ydo by
20 worchyng of certeyn fendes. For, as þe prophete seyþ, alle
godes of folke beþ fendes and þay beþ ycleped stronge godes
oþer alyen godes, for by pryde þay beþ ymaked alyens and
stronge fro God. And þou, amysbeleued man or womman,

B: I hem þat kepeþ] oþer takeþ hede *canc.* 12 we] beþ *canc.*,
lyueþ] lyued



B

worschepede eny suche false godes, were it neuere so priuey
as to þe worlde, it moste nedes beo openlyche yknowe *and* yseye
of God, to wham alle þynges beþ most opene and to him nobyng
may be hydde. Þerfore he seyþ, 'Þou schalt haue none alyene
5 godes byfore me. Þou schalt noust make þe an ymage graue by
mannes /honde.' f.81^r

Here by þis *commaundement* sume men *paraunter* wenep
þat it beo forbode to make eny ymages; bot of þis spekep þe

T

and so þes *prestis* þat *prechen* more to gete a loos þan for
worship of God *and* *profijt* of his Chirche maken hem a fals
symylitude *in* heuene; *and* he þat *prechiþ* more for worldli wynnyng
þan for worship of God synneþ azens þis *maundement*, siþ þat
5 he makip him a similitude *in* erþe; and, bi þe same resoun, þat
prest þat *prechiþ* more for to fede hise lustis þan to plese
God, he brekiþ {þis} heest on þe þridde *maner*, for he makyp
hym a falss liknesse *in* watir. *And þus* may we se hou comounly
þis *maundement* is brokun, boþe of *prestis* and *seculers*.

10 {*Capitulum Quintum*}

Bvt here moeuen clerkis wheþer ymagis [ben] leueful, *and*
it semeþ nay, for ymagis ben forfendid boþe *in* þis

B: 5 (*mar. nota de ymaginibus*)

T: 1 *prechen*] *prechin* *in* þe chirche H, *gete*] haue H 2 *worship*] þe
worschip H, *and*] or H, *hem*] þem H 4 *azens*] *azein* HY, *maundement*]
comaundment HY, *siþ*] *sen* H 5 a] *om.* HY 6 *for*] *om.* HY 7 *þis*]
corr.mar. T, *heest*] *hestis* H 8 a] *om.* Y, *falss*] *fals wittnes* *and* a *fals* H
9 *and*] *and* of H, 10 *Capitulum Quintum*] *mar.* T 11 *ben*] *om.* T, *leueful*]
lefful or *non* H, 12 (*mar. Capitulum Quintum* T (*this occurs twice*))

B

noble clerke Bede in exponyng þe temple of Salomon where he
seyþ þus: 'It is to knowe,' he seyþ, 'þat þer beþ sume men þat
weneþ þat it be by þe lawe forbode þat we scholde nouȝt
graue ne peynte lyknesse of men or of bestes oþer lyknesse
5 of eny oþer þynges in Churche, for as muche as, in þe ten
hestes, it is *commaunded* þat þou scholdest make to þe non
ymage ygraue ne no lyknesse; þe whiche scholde nouȝt trowe
þat forbode yf þey toke to mynde þe werke of Salomon.
For Salomon, in temple of þe Olde Lawe, made dyuerse
10 peyntynges *and* graues bytoknynges ymages þat we haueþ nowþe in
Holy Churche, as dyde Moyses in þe tabernacle by heste of
God. And as Moyses, by Godes heste, also made a brasen serpent
for þat þe peple þat by oþer wylde fyry serpentes were enuemed
byholdynges him scholde be heled and lyue, by moche more it
15 is lausom to ous to haue þe ymage of Crist in þe cros þat we,
in hauynges mynde on þe dep of Crist, mowe ouercome þe
temptaciouns *and* þe venym of þe fende, þe olde serpent. And

T

maundement *and* many opere places. For *in* þe Olde Testament
God was eschewe þat ony ymage shulde be maad among þe
Iewes, *and* þe same God is now wiþ þe same maundementis.

T: 1 *and*] *and* in H 2 ymage] ymages H 3 maundementis] maundement Y

T

But here me pinkip pat ymagis don bope good *and* harm:

B

þat ymages mowe be maked wel and eke ylle: wel to lyzte and
haunte and to styrye oþer meue þe soules of goede Cristene
folke forte þe more bysyloker and deuouteloker worschepe
her God; and ylle whenne þat, by occasioun of ymages, me erreþ
5 fro þe sopenyssse of feyþ so þat þylke ymage be worsched as
God, as yf enybody tryste endelyche to be holpe or relyued
by hem in eny sykenesse or in eny oþer nede or dysayse, and
þerfore offere and praye to hem [*and*] worsched hem wip
worschep þat is onlyche ypropred to God and to no mo.

T

good to siche men to whom þei ben bokis to more [*loue*] God þan
þei shulden ellis; yuel þei don to siche men whom þei
moeuen þus to sette here hope eendely in help of þes ymagis,
or ellis to scatere her loue folily in ymagis. *And in þes*
5 synnes traueilen many folk, boþe lerid *and* lewed, *and*
coueitise of prestis scateriþ ofte her loue vpon þes dede
stokkis, so þat me þinkip, saaf betere iugement, þat it were
more profijt vnto Hooli Chirche /þat alle þes ymagis weren f.11^v
left, as God bad þe Iewes. Þan shulden þei knytte more clenly

B: 8 *and*] it

T: 1 more loue God] luf God more H, more God T 2 yuel] euel *and* harm H
3 here] þair H 4 her] þeir HY 5 folk] folkis Y 6 her] þeir HY,
þes] siche H 7 me þinkip] men wold thenk H, me wolde þenke Y
9 shulden þei] misten men Y, clenly] kindeli H

T

her loue *in* her God, *and* lesse erre *in* mawmetrie *and* coueitise
bope. For lewed men *in* pilgrimage synne myche *in* mawmetrie,
and clerkis synnen myche more for coueitise of offryng. But
we seien siþ Crist for vs was maad man it is leueful to
5 haue ymage bi þe resoun of his manhed, siþ men sien his
body walking on erþe and, as Seynt Poul seiþ, 'In þat his
Godhed'; *and in* þe breed of þe auter we seen eche day his
body, but bope þes wiþ yzen of soule *and* not wiþ yze of body.
But certis siche ape liknesse blyndiþ many men *and* mak[iþ]
10 hem, bi litil þing þat is ofte leueful, wade *in* depe errours
and do more þan þei shulden, as peyntouurs of ymagis openly
techen vs. *And* so charmes *and* many þingis, takun bi experience,
maken hem to trowe hem to myche *and* leeue troupe of God. 3he,
bullis *and* absoluciouns marren many men *and* maken hem to erre
15 *in* feiþ of Ihesu Crist.

T: 1 her loue] þair loue H, her God] þeir Lord Godde H, þer God Y
2 in pilgrimage synne myche *in* mawmetrie] sinnen *in* pilgrimage *in* mawmentrie
ful oft H 4 siþ] sen H, leueful] leueful for vus H 5 ymage] ymages HY,
þe] om. HY, siþ] siþen H 6 on] upon Y, and] om. H, In] *and in* H
7 of] on H 8 yzen] ise Y, yze] yzen H 9 mak[iþ] maken T 10 hem]
þem H, depe] depnes of HY 11 ymagis] ymagis taken bi experiens Y
12 experience] erperiens H 13 maken hem] maken men HY, trowe hem] trow þem H,
troupe of God] þe trew weye to God H 14 hem] þem H 15 *in*] *in* þe H

B

Therefore techep Seynt Gregorye in a lettere þat he wrot
to a byschop and seyþ þus: 'Leue broþer, late it was yschewed
to ous þat þou, seyng some folke worschepyng ymages, wherfore
þou breke þe ymages and castest hem out of churche, the
5 whiche zeles or loue þat þou haddest þat þate þat was ymaked
wip mannes hondes scholde nouzt be worsched we preyseþ, bot
þat þou scholdest nouzt haue ybroke hem we demeþ.' For
Gregorie seyþ, 'Herefore peynture ys maked in churche: þat þay
namelyche þat cunneþ no letterure scholde rede in walles þate
10 þat þey mowe nouzt in bokes. And so if a clerk schal
worschepe his boke, þanne may anoþer man worschepe an
ymage.' In anoþer *lettre* þe same Gregorie seyþ, 'Whoso wole
make ymages let him nouzt bot in alle manere schone hem to
be worsched. And warne alle men bysyliche þat þey take
15 hete *and* charite (þat is loue of *compunccioun*) by þe syzte of
þyng ydo, [and] þat þey be put adoune oþer þat þey knele adoune
into /þe worschepe of onlyche Trinite.' f.82^r

Herefore seyþ a gret clerke, 'I worschepe nouzt þe ymage
of Crist for þat it is tre, noþer for it ys þe ymage of Crist,
20 bot ich worschepe Crist byfore þe ymage of Crist for it is þe
ymage of Crist *and* meueþ me to worschepe Crist.' And so, whenne
we comeþ into eny churche, mekelyche we scholde knele vpon þe
grounde, and yf þou vnderstonde þat þe holy sacrament of þe

B

auter, þat ys Cristes body in forme of bred þat was ybore of þe
Virgyne Marye and by þe deþe vpon þe cros bouzte ous yf we kepe his
hestes fro peynes of helle, be *presaurte* aboue þe auter or elles
vpon þe auter, worschepe it wiþ al þyn heorte, soule *and*

- 5 mynde. And whanne þou seyst þe cros, þenke wiþ gret sorowe and
compunccioun of heorte what deþe he suffrede for mankynde.
And so byfore þe cros þat meueþ þe to deuocioun, worschepe þou
Crist wiþ al þy myzt.

- And þus, by ymages and peynture ymaked by mannes honde,
10 þou mayste yse *and* knowe how holy seyntes of heuene louede almyzty
God, and how grete *and* dyuerse passiouns þey suffrede for loue þat
þey hadde to him; as by þe ymage of Seynt Lauerence þat is
ypeynte or ygraue holdyng a gredel in his honde, bytoknyng *and*
schewyng how Laurence was yrosted vpon a gredel; and also by
15 ymage of Seynte Kateryne þat ys ypeynt holdyng in here hond a
whel *and* a swerd, schewyng what passioun þe holy virgyne Kateryne
suffrede. And so by ymages of oper seyntes þou myst somdel
yknowe what passioun þey suffrede for loue þat þey hadde to
almyzty God. And þus by syzte of þes þynges yseye, as
20 Gregorye meneþ byfore, we schul putte ous adoune into
worschep of onlyche Trynyte. And þis scholde be grete
worschep to þe seyntes in heuene for as muche þat, by þe
syzte of here ymages, oure deuocioun ys ymeued þe more
deuouteloker to worschepe God. And yf /we do offrynge and f.82^v

B

worschep þat is onlyche ypropred to God to here yimages, we
nouzt onlyche þenne offendep God, brekyng his heste, bot also
we offendep alle þe holy seyntes of heuene, for þey hateþ, as
wytnesseþ Seynt Austyn, if suche þynges be do to hemself. For
5 þey wollep nouzt vsurpe to hem suche þynges þat bep onlyche
ypropred to God; þenne muche more hy hateþ yf suche þynges
be do to here yimages, þat bep bot here schadues ymaked of
tre or stone. For Holy Wryt wytnesseþ how þe angel of God
wolde nouzt suffre Jon þe Euangeliste to worschepe him bot
10 bad him worschepe God. And yf þou wolt worschepe in his
trewe ymage, do after þe conseile of Thobye and ete þou
þy bred wip hungry *and* nedy, þat is to mene: 3yf parte of þy
sustenance, after þy power, to hem þat nedep, and namelyche
to þe meke, trewe, poure man þat ys þe trewe ymage of God *and*
15 moche may helpe þe wip his prayere. For þe holy apostel Seynt
Jame seyþ þat a bysy prayere of þe ryztful man is moche
worpy, and herefore þe wyse man byddep þe hyde þyn almesse in
þe poure mannes bosum *and* þes, he seyþ, schal praye for þe.
Of þis ymage of God meny men *and* wommen takeþ lytel kepe,
20 and wip dyuerse horpes of synnes menyfoldlyche þis noble ymage
defouleþ, into gret dysplesance *and* offense of God. Wherefore

B

- þe holy clerke Seynt Bernard spekeþ to þis ymage *and* seyþ þus:
'O my soule, yf þou wolt be loued of God egrey þou in þe þyne
ymage and he schal louy þe. Reparel his lyknesse in þe and he
schal loue þe *and* desyre þe. For soþe,' seyþ Seynt Bernard, 'by
5 conseyle of þe Holy Trynyte þy makere made þe to his owne
ymage *and* lyknesse, þe whiche ymage *and* lyknesse he toke neuere
to oþer creature, þat þou scholdest loue him in so moche þe
feruentloker by how moche þou knewe þe of him merueillyche
ymade. Perfore,' he seyþ, 'vnderstonde þy noblete; for ryzt as
10 God is oueral /ful and hoole, makynge al þynge quyke, meuynge f.83^r
and gouernynge it ryzt, so þy soule ys ful and hoole in eche
party of þy body, makynge it quyke, meuynge *and* gouernynge it.
And ryzt as in God beþ persones þre: Fader, Sone *and* Holy Goste,
so þou hast dignytees þat beþ þre: vnderstondynge, wyl *and*
15 mynde. And ryzt as þe Sone ys ygete of þe Fader and of hem
two (þat is of Fader *and* Sone) goþ forþ þe Holy Goste, so of
vnderstondynge ys ygete a wille, and of þes two (þat is of
vnderstondynge *and* wil) comeþ forþe a mynde. And ryzt as þe
Fader ys God, þe Sone ys God, þe Holy Goste ys God and zit
20 þer beþ nouzt þre godes bot on God *and* hap þre persones, ryzt
so vnderstondynge ys þe soule, wyl ys þe soule *and* mynde is
þe soule, and zit þer beþ nouzt þre soules bot on soule *and*

B: 14 hast] hast þre

B

hap þre dignytees wiþ þe whiche we beþ yhote to loue God, as
wiþ al oure vnderstondyng, wiþ al oure wyl and wiþ al oure
mynde. For not onlyche vnderstondyng of God sufficeþ to
heuenelyche blysse bot yf þer be a wyl yset in loue; ne þes
5 two sufficeþ not bot yf þer be a mynde alwey in me
vnderstondyng *and* wilnyng, in þe whiche mynde God moste dwelle.
For ryzt as þer nys no stounde þat a man nys ysusteyned
by pyte and mercy of God, ryzt so þer scholde be no moment
þat a man ne scholde haue him present in his mynde.' And so
10 man þat is in charite ys þe quyke ymage of God. 'For ryzt as
þy makere,' seyth Bernard, 'þat made þe after his lyknesse ys
charite, goed, ryztful, swete *and* meke, pacient *and* mercyful;
ryzt so þou art ymaked to haue charite, and for þou
scholdest be clene, holy, fayre, meke and humyl. And so þe
15 more þat a man þat is Godes ymage hap of suche vertues, þe
more ys þat ymage ylyche to God.' For þe grete clerke
Crysostom seyþ þat he ys nouzt a trewe disciple þat folweþ
nouzt his mayster, ne it is nouzt a trewe ymage þe /whiche f.83^v
is nouzt liche to his makere. Wherefore what man oþer
20 womman þat hap most of vertues ys þe ymage most lyche to God.
'And þerfore,' seyþ Seynt Clement, 'if ȝe wolleþ honoury

B

- trewelyche þe ymage of God, we schewep,' he seyþ, 'to 3ow þat þat ys trewe þat 3e do wel.' And þis ys to mene þat 3e do almys dedes, and reuerence *and* worschep to man þat ys ymaked to þe ymage of God. 'Mynstre 3e or 3yue 3e mete,' he seyþ, 'to him
- 5 þat hungrep, drynke to him þat þrystep, clopynge to þe naked, seruyse to þe syke, herbourgh to þe pylgryme or to þe weyfarynge man, *and* mynstre 3e or 3yue 3e nedeful þynges to him þat ys in prysoun.' And þis ys an offerynge *and* a pylgremage so heylyche plesynge to God þat, as he himself
- 10 wytnesseþ in þe Gospel, þat þate we doþe to one þe leste of his he holdep it ydo to him. Bot we redeþ in no place of al Holy Wryt þat Crist wytnesseþ þat he holdep it ydo to him þat ys ydo to any ymage ymade of mannes hondes. Also þe forseyden Seynt Clement axep, 'What worschep of God,' he seyþ,
- 15 'ys it to renne aboute by stonyn *and* treyn ymages *and* to worschepe vayne ymages *and* wipoute soules as godes and dyspyse oþer sette man at nouȝt, in wham ys þe verray ymage of God?' But þis ys nouȝt yseyde for þat eny man scholde despyse ymages of holy seyntes *and* sette hem at nouȝt, bot for þey scholde trewelyche
- 20 worschepe God in þe trewe, meke, poure man, þat ys a quyke ymage of God, seruynge him, as y tolde byfore, and nouȝt suffre h[i]m

B: 21 him] hem

B

- be naked and cold, hungry and þyrsty *and* in oper dysayses, and
cloþe, vysyte *and* fede dede ymages þat neyþer þyrstep ne hungreþ
ne feleþ no coldnesse, neyþer suffreþ dysaise for þey mowe
nouzt fele, ne see, ne heere, ne speke, ne loke, ne helpe eny
5 man of eny desayse, as þe holy prophetes wytnesseþ. And so
who þat trysteþ on hem, worschepyng /hem wiþ worschepe þat f.84^r
onlyche parteyneþ to God, he makeþ to him false and alyene
godes and brekeþ þe *commaundement* of God. And þat scholde no
man do for deþ ne lyue, ne for none oper worldlyche goed.
10 For God seyþ here in þis fyrste *commaundement*, 'Ich am þy
lord God, a strange louere gelouse. Ich visyte þe
wykkednesse of fadres into þe þridde *and* ferþe generacioun of
hem þat hateþ me, and I do mercy into a þousande
kyndredenes of hem þat loueþ me *and* kepeþ myne hestes.'
15 We schal vnderstonde, as þe boke seyþ and as clerkes
moweþ schewe by auctorite, þat oure almyzty Lord God voucheþ
sauf to be þe spouse of mannes soule. For by þe prophete
Osee he spekeþ to mannes soule *and* seyþ þus: 'Ich schal spouse
þe or wedde þe to me in ryztwysnesse, in dome, in mercy and
20 in feyþe, and I schal wedde þe wiþoute ende.' And, as a gret
clerke wytnesseþ, þat as a man or womman in þis lyue encresseþ

B: 18 (*mar*: Osee 2)

B

in knowleche and loue of God þys worþy spouse, so
proporcionabeliche he resceyueþ plentenouser ernesses into
wytnesse of doueres of heuenelyche blessednesse, þe whiche,
as a queyne, he schal resceyue in heuene. Bot þis spousel is
5 betere þan bodylyche spousel. And God and þe holy soules of
trewe men beþ betere þan mennes bodyes. And so þis wedloke
is broke for a tyme by brekyng of feyþ *and* defaute of
rystwespe lyuyng. And herefore God seyþ ofte by his
prophetes þat his peple dyde fornicacioun *and* auoutrye for þay
10 worschepede false godes. And Seynt Jame seyþ þat men þat
loueþ þis wordle beþ gostlyche auouteres, for þis seyþ he:
'3e auouteres, knowe 3e nouzt þat frendschepe of þe worlde ys
enemy to God?' And þus alle men þat loueþ more worldelyche
worschepe oþer goedes of þe worlde þan God *and* his lawe and
15 trewe lyuyng beþ auouteres gostlyche, yf þey were Cristene
before. *And* herefore men scholde drede þe power of þys spouse
þat seyþ /þus: 'Ich am a stronge louere,' knowynge wel þat his
power ys so strong þat he ne may nouzt lette to putte suche
auouteres into euelestyng prysoun of helle bot yf þay
20 in þis lyf be to him newe reconsyled.

Bot here þey scholde vnderstonde þe humylite and mekenesse

B: 1 knowleche] knowle/leche

B

- of þis spouse þat ys a louere gelouse, and mekelyche turne to
hym azen. For of gret loue he clepeþ hem to be reconsyled as þe
boke recorderþ in meny place. And in on place he spekeþ to synful
mannes soule by his prophete Jeremye *and* seyþ þus: 'Þou hast ydo
5 fornycacioun wip meny loueres. Neþeles,' he seyþ, 'turne azen.'
And þis ys to mene as þough he seyde þus: 'Þou hast yloued many
þynges more þan me, and for loue of hem many tymes ybroke my
commaundement, bot sit, neþeles, forsake þe loue of hem and come
azen to me, louynge me aboue alle þyng, and I schal resceyue þe.'
10 For as a gret clerke seyþ, þat a stronge louere gelouse ys he
þat wole þat alle loue be turned into him. Wherefore it
folweþ þat he wole þat noþyng be loued bot he hymself, or
elles for loue of him. And þe noble clerke Crisostome
acordynge to þe Gospel seyþ, 'Þou schalt loue God wip al þyn
15 heorte, þat [3e] beo nouzt enclyned to delectacioun of enyþyng
more þan of God.' And afterward he seyþ, 'If þe loue of
þyn herte be occupied wip eny of þes erpelyche þynges nowþe,
þou louest nouzt God of al þyn heorte. Forsope,' he seyþ,
'þyne heorte ys by so moche party lasse to God by how moche
20 party he ys yknyt by loue to anoþer þyng; so þat he þat
lest loueþ erpelyche þynges loueþ most God, and he þat most

B: 4 (*mar. Capitulo tertio*) 15 3e] he

B

- {louep} erþelyche þynges louep lest God.' And þus whenne þey
resceyueþ by loue into þe ynmuste chambre of here heorte
eny maner creature wham hy louep euene wiþ God or more
preciouslyche þan God here spouse, þay beþ gostelyche
5 spousebrekeres and so, lyuyng in auouterye, /geteþ *and* f.85^r
norscheþ bastarde childrene. For ryȝt as goede, meke men [þat]
trauayleþ to lyue in treuþe *and* sobernesse, kepyng þe
commaundementz of here spouse Ihesu Crist, geteþ lausom *and*
gostlyche children *and* norscheþ hem in vertues by example of
10 here goede contynuel conuersacioun, to make hem trewe heires of
þe euerlestyng kyngdom of heuene; ryȝt so þes worldlyche loueres,
gostlyche spousebrekeres, geteþ proute bastarde children and, by
example of here wykked lyuyng, norscheþ hem in *pride*, wreþe *and*
enuye, sleuþe, coueytise, glotenye *and* lecherye, *and* techeth hem
15 false *and* sotel worldlyche ymagynaciouns, as grete cautel oþes,
lesynges and oþer false fraudys, to make hem grete and ryche by
false worldlyche goedes, into gret dampnacioun of suche fadres *and*
of here children þat hem folweþ. And herefore God seyth here
in þis commaundement þat he vysytech (þat ys to mene 'punyscheþ'
20 by peyne) þe synnes of faderes into here children into þe
þrydde *and* ferþe generacioun of hem þat hateþ hym *and* þat beþ

B: 1 louep] *corr.int.* 6 þat] *om.*

B

þylke þat wolleþ nouzt kepe his hestes. For Crist seyþ in
þe Gospel, 'He þat loueþ nouzt me kepeþ nouzt my wordes,' þe
whiche beþ his hestes. And 3ite þe *prophete* Ezechiel seyþ þat
þe sone schal nouzt bere þe fadres gulte ne þe fader schal
5 nouzt bere þe soness gulte, and in þis *commaundement* God seyþ
þat he punyscheþ þe synnes of faderes in here childrene into
þe þrydde *and* þe ferþe kynreden. For so longe tyme, as a gret
clerke telleþ, fadres beþ ywoned leue vpon erþe wiþ here
children, and ryzt as þe children, bycause of myslyuyng
10 of here faderes *and* faute of chastement, takeþ parte *and* commeneþ
wiþ here faderes in synnes, folwyng hem in maneres, so, by
ryztfulnesse of God, þey schal take parte of dyseyse *and* commeny
wiþ hem in peyne more or lasse *after* þe quantyte þat þey
commeneþ wiþ hem in synnes. But þer þe *prophete* seyþ þat þe
15 sone schal nouzt be punysched for þe fader ne þe fa/der for f.85^v
þe sone, þis þou most vnderstonde: þat yf þe fader be a
ryztful man, kepyng Godes hestes, *and* hateþ synne *and* loueþ
vertues, and techeþ *and* chastep his child by his power after
þat þat Godes lawe techeþ, and þenne, þough þe chylde be rebelle
20 to þe fader and wole nouzt lyue as he techeþ him but folweþ
his owene luste azenst Godes hestes, in þis case, as þe *prophete*

B

seyþ, þe fader schal noust be punysched for þe childe. And yf
þe fader be an vnrystful lyuere azenste Godes *commaundement*
and his sone, seyng *and* knowynge þe wykkednesses of him, doep
noust after him, but dredeþ God forsakyng falsenesse and
5 hateþ synnes folwynge *vertues*, *and* in alle his dedes kepeþ Godes
byddynges, þat chylde þat doep þus, as þe prophete seyþ,
schal noust bere þe faderes gult but yf he folwe þe fader in
wykkednesse. And so God punyscheþ synnes of fadres into here
childrene þat folweþ hem in here synnes into þe þrydde *and*
10 ferþe kynredene of hem þat hateþ him *and* punyscheþ hem
þerafter. 'But,' he seyþ, 'I do *mercy* into a þousande
kynredenes of men þat loueþ me *and* kepeþ myne hestes.' Þis
word of oure Lord God is charged wip moche more þan we kunne
telle, bot o þyng scholde we take of Godes lawe: þat he melleþ
15 togedre wordes of loue and drede. For by loue *and* drede he
ledeþ his children and chasteþ hem by þes two as by ȝerde
and staf. Bot syþ man scholde kyndelyche be ladde by loue, he
medleþ more of loue þan he doþ of drede, and þerefore he
streccheþ hey vengeance to men into þrydde and to þe ferþe
20 generacioun, bot his wordes of loue he streccheþ tyl a
þousand. And so wit *and* strengþe he medleþ togedere into

B: 3 doep] *and* doep 6 byddynges] byddynges *and* 19 streccheþ]
strecche

B

tokene þat eueryche man ys holde to loue him and þat non may
asterte þe knoweleche of him ne, yf he do amysse, peyne þat he
ys worþy. And so þys *commaundement* bytokeneþ God þe /Fader, f.86^r
for onheede by som cause ys *propryd* to þe Fader and þis
5 *commaundement* byddeþ þe to haue bot on God, for Fader *and* Sone
and Holy Gost beþ þe same God. And þes þre *commaundements* of
þe furste table meneþ þes þre persones in manere of here
speche. And so, syþþe nobyng may be verrey God bot on,
whosoeuere makeþ him many godes mote haue some false. And for
10 þis ys stronge fro resone of oure God, wel beþ suche cleped
alyene godes.

O Lord, syþþe no man loueþ hys God bot after þat he
knoweþ him, [syþþe] knowynge mesureth loue, how warly scholde
we trauayly for to knowe oure God and fle alle errores þat
15 falleþ in þis knowynge. And herefore seyþ Poul þat yf þe
Iewes hadde yhad þis knowynge þey hadde neuere doo on þe cros

T

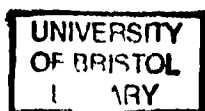
Capitulum Sextum

O Lord, siþ no man loueþ his God but aftir þat he knoweþ
him, siþ knowyng mesuriþ loue, hou warly shulde we trauele
for to knowe oure God *and* fle alle *errouris* þat fallen in
5 þis knowyng. And þerfor seiþ Poul þat if þe Iewes had
knownen, þei had neuere don on crosse Ihesu, Kyng of Glorie

B: 13 syþþe] suche

T: 2 siþ] sen H 3 siþ] siþen H, (*mar: Capitulum Sextum* T)

5 þerfor] herefore HY 6 on] on þe Y Kyng] þe King H



B

Ihesu Kyng of blysse. And þis ys þe cause why chyldrene of
þe Olde Lawe were forfended for to worschepe God in his
ymages, and herefore God was schewed to Moyses in a busche.
For we scholde wyte by resoun þat þynges þat beþ vnsensyble
5 passeþ in goednesse þynges þat beþ sensyble; as helpe, þat we may
nouzt see, passeþ gropelyche þynges, and lyf, þat we may nouzt
fele, passeþ gros bodyes; so God, þat we may nouzt see, passeþ
worldly þynges. Bot for we knoweþ him lytel þerfore we loueþ
him þe lasse. And by oure beleue we scholde knowe him *and*
10 loue him. For we scholde byleue þat he ys þe beste þyng þat
may be, þe wyseste man *and* most iuste þat eny man may þenke on.

T

and þis is þe cause whi children *in* þe Olde Lawe weren
forfendid to worshiþe God *in* hise ymagis, and herfor God
was shewed to Moyses *in* a bussh. For we shulden wite bi
resoun þat þingis þat *ben* vnsensible passen *in* goednesse
5 þingis þat *ben* sensible; as helpe, þat we may not se,
passiþ gropeli þingis, *and* lijf, þat we may not feele, passiþ
grosse bodies; so God, þat we may not se, passiþ worldli
þingis. But for we knowen him litil, þerfore we louen
him þe lesse. And bi oure bileue we shulden knowe him *and*
10 loue him. For we shulden trowe þat he is þe best þing /þat
may be, þe wisest *and* þe moost iust þat ony man may þenke

f.12^r

T: 1 children] þe childer H, *in*] of HY 2 forfendid] defended H, to]
for to HY 3 wite] wātitt H 6 feele] see ne fele H 9 þe] *om.* Y
11 may] is or may H, wisest] wisest þing Y, þe moost] moost Y

B

So he ys eueremore, wipoute eny bygynnyng *and* wipoute endyng,
knowyng alle þynges; and he may nouȝt forȝete ne nouȝt may
ascape him, bot eueremore he ordeyneþ alle þyng þat ys goede.
And so, syþ he hadde power to knowe himsylf *and* euene after
5 his power ys engendryd his knowyng *and* of þes two þynges comeþ
reste in himsylf, he mot nede be þre þynges *and* al on God:
power, þat /ys fyrst, þe Fader of heuene; knowyng or wysdom, f.86^v
þat is þe secunde persone; þe þrydde ys goede wyl þat we
clepeþ þe Holy Goste. And of þis Holy Trynyte comeþ alle kenne

T

on, and so he is eueremore wipouten ony bigymyng *and*
wipouten ende. Knowyng al þing, he may nouȝt forȝete,
ne nouȝt may askape him, but eueremore he ordeyneþ all
þing þat is good. And so, siþ he haþ power to knowe
5 himsif, *and* euene aftir his power is gendrid his knowyng
and of þes two þingis comeþ rest in himsif, he mote
nede be þre þingis *and* al oon God: power, þat is first,
Fader of heuene; knowyng or wisdom, þat is þe secound
persone; þe þridde persone is good will, þat we clepen
10 þe Hooli Goost. *And* of þis Hooli Trinite comen alle kyn

T: 1 so] also T, eueremore] *om.* H, ony] *om.* H, *and*] *and* schal be H
2 ende] endyng H, nouȝt] not Y 3 askape] scape H 4 siþ] sen H
6 mote] most H 7 nede] nedis Y, oon] oo H, first] þe first H
8 Fader] þe Fader HY, or] alle H 9 clepen] calle H

B

creatures. And as þis Holy Trynyte may fayle in no stede, so
he may nouzt faylle in no kyn mesure. Bot sybbe þes wordes
beþ ferre fro bodylyche wyttes, men scholde be war to kepe
hem [soundelyche, for bodylyche þynges distracteþ men to kepe
5 hem] ryzt. And þis ys somdel þe resoun of þe fyrste commaundement.

þe secunde commaundement parteyneþ to þe Sone þe
secunde persone in Trynyte, and ys in þes wordes ywryte in
his lawe: 'þou schalt nouzt take þe name of þy Lord God in
vayne' (noþer in wordes ne in maner of lyuyng) 'for God schal
10 nouzt haue þat man wipoute gylt þat takeþ þe name of his

T

creatures. And as þe Hooli Trinite may {faile} in no stede,
so he may not faile in no kyn mesure. But siþ þes wordis
ben fer fro bodili witt, men shulden be war to kepe hem
soundely, for bodili þingis distracten men to kepe hem
5 rist. And þis is sumdel þe resoun of þe first maundement

[Capitulum Septimum]

The secound maundment of God perteneþ to his Sone and is in
þes wordis writun in his lawe: *Pou shalt not take þe name
of þi Lord God in veyn, neiþer in wordis ne in maner of lyuyng.*
10 *For God shal not haue þat man wipouten gilt þat takip þe*

B: 4-5 soundelyche for bodylyche þynges distracteþ men to kepe hem] *om.*

T: 1 þe] þis HY, faile] *corr.mar.* T, not faile H 2 not] noght H, siþ]

sen H 3 witt] wittys HY, shulden] schulen Y, hem] þem H 4 soundely]

sumdele H, þingis] wittes *and* bodili þings H, hem] þaim H 5 sumdel þe resoun]

þe reson sumdele H, maundement] comaundement þe whiche resoun þe we alle schulde
knowe H 6 Capitulum Septimum] *om.* T 7 (*mar. Secundum mandatum T*)

8 writun] *and* writen Y, lawe] lawe þus H, not] noght H 9 þi Lord God]

þe Lord þi God Y 10 not] nozt H, haue] {haue} *corr.mar.* H, takip] take Y

B

Lord God wiþoute cause.' Þe name of God ys þe wysdom of þe
 Fader for, as phylosophres seyþ, þe *propre* name of a þyng ys
 þe forme þat ys yfounded in þat *and* non oþer, bot þis wysdom
 of God ys forme of God one. And herefore seyþ Poul þat
 5 Criste, þe secunde persone, ys in forme of God as Sone in his
 Fader, *and* so þis secunde *commaundement* ys *propred* vnto Crist.
 Bot forþermore scholde we note þat Godes lawe clepeþ
 Criste 'Lord' *and* 'oure God' for two kynnes þynges, as y tolde
 before in þe fyrste *commaundement*, *and* þat ys drede *and* loue þat
 10 we scholde haue to him. *And* herefore God axeþ in boke of his

T

name of his Lord God withouten cause. Þe name of God is þe
 wisdom of þe Fadir for, as philosephris seien, þe *propre* name
 of þing is þe foorme þat is founden in þat *and* in noon oþer. But
 þis wisdom of God is foorme of God one, and herfor seiþ Poul
 5 þat Crist, þe secound persone, is in forme of God as Son in
 his Fader. And so þis secound maundement is *proprid* vnto
 Crist. But ferþermore shulden we note þat Goddis lawe clepiþ
 Crist 'Lord' *and* 'oure God' for two kymes þingis: þat is drede
and loue þat we shulde haue to him. And herfore God axiþ

T: 1 *Lord*] *om.* Y, of God] of/of God H 3 *in*¹] *om.* HY 4 foorme]
 þe forme H, one] alle one H 6 vnto] onto Y 7 clepiþ] callis H
 8 kymes] kin HY

B

prophete, 'Syþþe I am Lord, wher ys my drede? And yf he be
God where ys his loue?' Bot Austyne seyþ þat drede bryngeþ
ynne loue as brystyl bryngeþ yn smalnesse of þrede, and
herefore Godes lawe putteth 'Lord' byfore. And so eche man
5 takeþ Godes name in veyn þat swereþ by his name more þan
it is nede. Criste techēþ ous in Gospel to haue oure word
þus: '3e, 3e. Nay, nay', wiþoute eny oþe. For no man schal
speke no maner treuþe /bot it be '3e' or 'nay' þat he spekeþ. f.87^r
Bot for Crist wolde þat oure wyt *and* word acorded togedre
10 in speche to oure neyzebores, þerfore he doubleþ þes wordes

T

in book of his prophet, 'Siþ y am Lord, where is my drede? *And*
if he be God, where is his loue?' But /Austyn seiþ þat drede f.12^v
bryngiþ in loue as bristel bryngiþ [in] þe smalnesse of þe
þred. And herfore Goddis lawe puttiþ to vs 'Lord' bifore.
5 *And* so eche man takiþ Goddis name in veyn þat sweriþ bi his
name more þan is nede. Crist techiþ in þe Gospel to haue oure
word þus: '3he, 3he. Nay, nay', wiþouten ony oth. For no man shal
speke no maner treuþe but if it be '3he' or 'nay' þat he spekiþ.
But for Crist wolde þat oure witt *and* word accordiden togidre
10 in speche to oure neizbore, þerfore he doublide þes wordis

T: in] in þe H, Siþ] Sen H 2 if] 3if þæt H, (*mar: Augustinus* T)
3 as] right as a H, in þe] þu þe T, of þe] of HY 4 to vs] þis Y
6 techiþ] teches us HY, þe] *om.* H, his Y 8 maner] maner of H
9 word] ouur worde H, accordiden] acorde Y

B

as þough he wolde seye, 'Yf it be "3e" in 3oure soule, seyeþ
"3e" in 3oure word *and* make þes two acorde; and yf 3e seyeþ
"nay" in 3oure soule, seyeþ "nay" wiþ 3oure mouþ; *and* be 3e trewe
men.' And þus '3e, 3e' *and* 'nay, nay' scholde be oure speche, for
5 yf we swereþ oust it comeþ of yuel. Crist seyde nouzt
þat alle swerynge ys yuel, for God himsylf swore and Crist
wiþ his apostoles. Bot Crist seyb wyslyche þat more ys of
yuel [oper of yuel] of him þat swereþ or elles [of yuel] of him to
wham he swereþ. For as God techep by Jeremye þe prophete, wiþ þre
10 condiciouns ys lefful men to swere: fyrst þat þey be

T

as he wold seie, '3if 3e wolde seie "3he" in 3oure soule,
seieþ "3he" in 3oure word *and* make þes two acorde; *and* if 3e seie
"nay" in 3oure soule, seie "nay" in 3oure mouþ; *and* be 3e trewe
men.' And þus '3he, 3he' or 'nay, nay' shulde be oure speche, for
5 if we sweren oust it is of yuel. Crist seiþ not þat al
sweryng is yuel, for God himsif swoor *and* Crist wiþ hise
apostlis. But Crist seiþ wisely þat more is of yuel, oper
of yuel of hym þat swerip or ellis of yuel of him þat
herip. For as God techip bi Ieremie þe prophet, wiþ
10 þre condiciouns is leueful men to swere: first þat þei ben

B: 8 oper of yuel] *om.*, of yuel²] *om.*

T: 1 as] as 3if H, 3if] 3if þæt HY, wolde seie] seyn HY 3 in
3oure mouþ] *with* 3oure mowthe HY 4 or] *and* HY, oure] 3ouur H
5 is] comys HY 7 oper] oweþer H, eipþer Y 8 of yuel of hym]
of hym H, or] *om.* Y, of yuel of him] of hym H 10 men] *om.* H,
first] þe first H, þei ben] he be Y

B

- war þat þey swere trowþe, and þe cause of þe oþe be to
schewe ryst *and*, syþ, þat by iuggement it be nede to swere.
And elles scholde alle men kepe hem fro oþes bot, I
vnderstonde þe iuggement of God, oþes in mesure as Holy
5 Wryt lymyteþ. And þes grete swereres wenep to excuse hem
bot þey accuseþ hem to God þat knowep alle soþ. Þey seye
þat noman wolde trowe hem bot yf þey swere so; and þus, by
here lesyng, þey greggeþ here synne, for þe worlde wole
wytnesse þat suche gre[uous]e swereres bep more false of here
10 tunge þan men þat swereþ lytel. *And* herfore yf þou wolt be

T

- war þat þei sweren treuþe, *and* þe cause of her oop be to
shewe rist *and*, sip, þat *in* iugement be it nede to swere.
And ellis shulden alle men kepe hem fro oopis but, y
vndurstonde þe iugement of God, oopis *in* mesure as Hooli
5 Writt lymytip. And þes greete swerers wenen to excuse hem,
but þei accusen hem to God þat knowep al þe soþe. Þei seien
þat no man wolde trowe hem but if þei sworn so; *and* þus, bi
þis leesyng, þei aggregen her synne, for þe world wole
wittnesse þat siche greuouse swerers ben more false of her
10 tonge þan men þat sweren lital. And herfor if þou wolt be

B: 4 God] God and 9 greuouse] grete

T: 1 þei sweren] he swere Y, her] þeir HY 2 rist] arist Y, sip]

sipen H 3 hem] þeim H, oopis] othis wele H 4 God] God and HTY

5 hem] þem H 6 hem] þem H, þe] om. HY 7 hem] þem H

8 aggregen] groggen Y, her] þer Y 9 greuouse] grete HY, her] þer Y

B

holde trewe of tunge, auyse þe þat þou be discrete in þy
wordes *and* speke nouȝt bot trowþe or þat þou mayste performe;
and whanne þy wyse worde ys yspoke of þyn herte, be aboute
to fulfille it, [and make þe nouȝt false, and þis scholde shewe
5 þy fame] *and* make þe trewe man.

Me þynkeþ þat þre causes scholde meue ous to kepe þis
commaundement *and* to take þe name of God wiþ gret worschep *and*
drede. On cause ys for þer was neuer man ne womman þat dyde
synne þat myȝte be saue bot in vertu of þis /name, ne neuere f.87^v
10 schal be, as wytnesseþ Seynt Peter in Actis of þe Apostoles.
*'Per ys non oþer name,' he seyþ, 'vnder heuene yȝeue to men
in þe whiche þey moste be saued, bot in þis name, Ihesu Crist.'*
Bot how schal eny synful wrecche be bolde to stonde byfore
Crist at þat dredful day of dome, wiþ hys hondes *and* feet *and*
15 sydes and his woundes opene, and wayte to be saued at þat

T

holden trewe of tonge, auyse þee þat þou be discret in þi
wordis, *and* speke not but treuþe [or] þat þou maist performe. And
whanne þi wise word is spokun of þi hert, be aboute to fille
it, *and* make þe not fals, *and* þis shulde shewe þi fame *and* make þee
5 a trewe man.

B: 4-5 and make þe nouȝt false, and þis scholde shewe þy fame] *om.*

11 (*mar. Actis Quarto*)

T: 1 þee] *om.* H 2 not] noȝt H, or] *om.* T 3 fille] fulfille H

5 a] *om.* Y

B

dredful stounde in vertu of Cristes name and of þis harde
woundes, þe whiche name *and* woundes he hadde so orriblyche
despyded al his lyf in vayne *and* orryble oþes swerynge, *and* wolde
nouzt amende him. Tryste he wel þerto, it wole nouzt be bot

5 he amende him in þis lyf.

The secunde cause þat scholde meue ous to spare grete
and vnlawful oþes ys þat þe name of Ihesu ys so worschepful þat,
as seyþ Seynt Poul, *In þe name of Ihesu every kne of*
heuenelyche creatures, or erpelyche, or of helle ys ybowed. For
10 it ys so heyze *and* so worschepful þat þe cursede fend in helle
scholde tremble to hyere it ynemned. And þerfore it semep þat
þe man þat swereþ so orriblyche by þat blessed name despysep
þat name more boldlyche þan dorste þe cursede fende of helle.

The þrydde cause þat scholde meue alle men to leue here
15 grete oþes ys þis: it semep þat suche swereres þat so dysmembrep
Crist, swerynge by his heorte *and* his soule *and* blod *and* bones, hem
semep þat þe cursede Jewes dyde neuere Crist tourmentes ynowe
bot yf þey, wiþ here gryslyche *and* cursede oþes, alto drawe
Crist lyme by lyme by here power, *and* so dyde neuere þe cursede
20 Jewes. And þerfore, bot yf þis synne be amended, wiþoute eny
doute it schal haue harde vengeance. For the wyse man seyþ
þat vengeance schal nouzt go fro þat mannes hous þat swereþ

B

moche. Bot paraunter here þou seyst þat al day þou seest þe
contrarie, for þat þou /seest ofte suche grete sweryeres haue f.88^r
muchē worldlyche prosperite, and opere þat beþ esy men *and* none
sweryeres suffery grete wordlyche aduersite. Wherefore þou
5 schalt vnderstonde þat Scripture spekeþ nouȝt onlyche of
þis materyel hous þat we woneþ ynne. Herefore Poul seyþ *þat*
we haue here no dwellyng cyte, þat ys to mene: into
comparisoun of þe cyte oper hous þat schal leste euere. 'Bot
we secheþ,' he seyþ, 'on tocomynge.' Perfore when þe wyse man
10 seyþ þat vengeance schal nouȝt go fro þe mannes hous þat
swereþ *moche*, he spekeþ principalyche of þe hous þat þe prophete
spekeþ of in þe sauter boke and seyþ *here sepulcres* (þat ys
to vnderstonde 'of helle') *beþ here euerlestynge hous*. And
alle þat schulleþ dwelle in þat hous schulleþ fele euerlestynge
15 vengeance. And so vengeance schal nouȝt go fro þat man oper
womman hous þat swereþ *moche* bot yf he amende him here. And
perfore for drede *and* loue of þis blessedde name, Ihesu, leue ȝe
suche opes, *and* take we þys name wiþ al honour *and* worschepe.

Bot syþ kepyng of alle *commaundementȝ* putteþ out

T

{*Capitulum Octavum*}

/ Siþ kepyng of alle *comaundmentȝ* puttiþ out eche hed f.13^r

B: 3 muche] more prosperite *canc.*

T: *Capitulum Octavum*] *mar.* T

B

eche hede synne and yf þou breke on þou trespacest in alle,
it were for to wyte how large þis heste ys. Bot we scholde
ywyte fyrst þat boþe *prayer* and speche stondeþ more in dede
þan in worde of mouþe. Eueryche man in erþe bereþ name of
5 his God preynted in his soule, for elles he myzt nouzt be, and
so, whan eny man leueþ þat he scholde do or doþ þat he scholde
nouzt do vpon peyne of hate of God, he takeþ in vayn þis holy
name. For noman ys ordeyned bot for to serue God and his name
mote [he] take yf þat he be, and so he takeþ his name in vayne
10 whan he fayleþ of þis ende. So God haþ ordeyned þis ende to

T

synne and if þou breke oon þou trespassist *in* alle, it were
for to wite hou large þis heest is. But we shulden wite
first þat boþe *preier* and speche stonden more *in* deede þan
in word of mouþ. Euery man *in* erþe berip þe name of his God
5 prentid *in* his soule, for ellis he myzte not be. And so
whame-euer a man leueþ þat he shulde do or doip þat he
shulde not vpon peyne of hate of God, he takip *in* veyn þis
hise and hooli name. For no man is ordeyned but for to serue
God and his name mot he take if þat he be. And so he takip his
10 name *in* veyn whame he failip of þis eende, siþ God haþ

B: 9 he] be

T: 2 shulden] shulen Y 4 þe] om. Y 4-5 his God prentid in] om. H

7 vpon] vp HY 9 he take] be take Y, be] be {trew} corr.mar. H

10 siþ God haþ] om. H

B

eche þat hæþ þis name, as God hæþ ordeyned speche of mouþe
to *commune* wyth þy /neyȝebore boþe in trewþe and in loue, f.88^v
as bestes doþ kyndelyche. And yf þou faylle of þis ende, þou
blabrest al in vayne falsloker þan bestes or bryddes in þe
5 eyer. O Lord, þy soule ys made to ymage of God and þerfore
techeþ Austyn *and* Bernard also þat it ys þre þynges:
vnderstondyng, wyl *and* mynde, and alle beþ on substaunce.
And so, as þe Gospel techeþ, þou scholdest on þre maneres
worschepe þe name of þy God þat þou hast wiþ þe: þou
10 scholdest loue þy God wiþ al þyn heorte and also loue him

T

ordeyned þis eende to eche þat hæþ þis name, as God hæþ
ordeyned speche of mouþ to *commune* wiþ þi neisbore boþe in
treuþe *and* in loue, as beestis don kyndely. *And* if þou faile of
þis eende þou blaberist in veyn falslier þan beestis or
5 briddis in þe eyr. O Lord, þi soule is maad to ymage of þi God
and þerfor techiþ Austyn þat it is þre þyngis: mynde, resoun
and wille, *and* alle ben oo su{b}staunce. *And* so, as þe Gospel techiþ,
þou shuldest on þre maneres worshiþe þe name of God þat
þou hast wiþ þee: þou shuldest loue þi God of al þi herte

T: 1 ordeyned þis eende] *om.* H, as] *and* as Y 5 þi] siþ Y 7 oo]
oon H, substaunce] *corr.int.* T 8 God] þi God HY

B

in al þy soule, and eke þou scholdest loue him in al þy
mynde. Þan þou louest God of al þyn heorte whanne þy wyt
and þy power ys onlych yset on him, nouzt þat þou ne mayst
do lefffullyche worldlyche þynges, bot loke þat þe ende of
5 þy worke be worschep to þy God; þou louest God in al þy
soule whan þou ordeynest al þy lyf to worschep of þy God;
and so þou louest God in al þy mynde whanne þou forȝettest
no wyse to þenke in þy God, bot þenkyng is in dede as it
ys in mynde. On þys wyse scholde me worschepe þe Trynyte *and*
10 þanne þou takest nouzt in vayn þe holy name of God þat ys

T

and also loue him in al þi soule, an eke þou shuldest loue
him in al þi mynde. Þanne þou louest God of al þin herte
whame þi witt *and* þi power is oonly sett on him, nouzt þat þou
ne mayst leuefully do worldli þingis, but loke þe eende of
5 þi werk be worship of þi God; þou louest þi God in al þi
soule whame þou ordeynest al þi lijf to worship of þi God;
and so þou louest God in al þi mynde whame þou forȝetist on no
wise þus to þenke on þi God, but þenkyng is in dede as it is
in mynde. On þis wise shulden men worshipe þe Trinite *and*
10 þanne þei taken not in veyn þe hooli name of God þat is

T: 2 louest] louedest þi H 3 nouzt] not HY 3-4 þou ne] *trs.* H
4 þingis] thing H, loke] loke þat H 6 God] God in al þi soule Y
7 God] þi God HY, on] *om.* H, in Y 8 to] *om.* Y 10 þei taken]
þou takist HY, not] not H

B

nedylyche preynted wiþynne þy soule.

And syþ God haþ ordeyned hys hous to wandre wyselyche
in his offyce ydelnesse ys dampned boþe of God and
of kynde. God haþ ordeyned offyce to eche lyme of his
5 Chirche; and so eche man of Cristes Chirche takeþ Godes
name in þis offyce, syþ he ys Godes offycer in vertu of his
name; and so eche Cristen man takeþ þis name in veyn þat
faylleþ of his seruyce þat falleþ to his offyce; and so
eche prelate or prest of þe Chyrche takeþ Godes name in
10 veyne þat knoweþ nouzt þis offyce þat Godes lawe haþ

T

nedely *printid* wiþinne *in* þe soule.

[Capitulum Nonum]

Siþ God haþ ordeyned his hous to wandre wisely *and*
ydelnesse is dampnyd boþe of God *and* kynde, /God haþ ordeyned f.13^v
5 office to eche lyme of his Chirche; *and* so eche man of his
Chirche takip Goddis name in þis office, siþ he is Goddis
officer bi vertu of þis name; and so eche Cristen man takyp
Goddis name in veyn þat failip in Goddis seruyce þat fallip
to his office; and so eche prelat or prest of þe Chirche
10 takyp Goddis name in veyn þat knoweþ not his office þat Goddis

T: 1 *in*] *om.* H, þe] þi HY 2 Capitulum Nonum] *om.* T 5 *man* of his] man of
Cristis HY 8 failip] falleþ H 10 not] nouzt H, his] þis HY

B

lymyted to him and doþ it noust in dede. Bot þre maner of
office God haþ 3yue to his Chyrche: cler/kes *and* knyȝtes and f.89^r
laboreres. Bot clerkes scholde be heyȝest and lest of
despense and most bysy in Godes lawe *and* ferrest from þe worlde;

- 5 and yf þey leue wytynglyche þys maner of lyuyng no man in
þys worlde takeþ falsoker Godes name. And some seyþ þat
Antecrist haþ changed alle þes offices, for he chalengeþ to
be kyng of þe chyrche of wykked men.

Knyȝtes scholde schewe þe power of þe Godhede *and* by

T

lawe haþ lymyted *him* and doip it not *in* dede. But þre maner
of office haþ God ȝouen to his Chirche: clerkys *and* knyȝtis *and*
laboreris also. Clerkis shulden be hiȝest *and* leest of dispense
and moost bisiest *in* Goddis lawe *and* ferrest fro þe world.

- 5 And [if] þei leue [wittingly] þis maner of lyuyng, no man *in* þis
worlde takip falslier Goddis name. And summe seien þat
Antecrist haþ chaungid alle þes offices, for he chalengip
to be kyng of þe chirche of wickid men.

Knyȝtis shulde shewe þe power of Godhed *and* bi worldli

T: 2 office] officeris Y 4 bisiest] bisied Y, ferrest] ferpest Y

5 if] *om.* T, wittingly] vtterli HY, vittirly T 6 falslier]

faslier Y 8 to] for to H, be] {be} *corr.mar.* H

B

worldelyche strengþe meyntene Godes lawe, and yf Antecriste
haþ vengu[ss]ed þes lordes by his ypocrisy and falshede of his
prestes þes beþ perelous men to destrie Crystes Chyrche.

- þes knyghtes scholde trewelyche knowe Godes lawe and offyceres
5 in his Chyrche *and* what þey scholde do, *and* by strengþe streyne
hem to traualle in here offyce, *and* ydele men in þe Chyrche
þat God putteþ nouȝt yn{ }ne lymyteþ hem to þe offyce þat þey
feyneþ hem haue, putte hem oute by strengþe *and* lymyte hem to
labore. And þanne scholde Cristes Chyrche be purged of trewauntes

T

- strengþe mayntene Goddis lawe, and if Antecrist haþ vengushid
þes lordis bi ypocrisie *and* falshed of hise prestis þes ben
perelouse men to destrie Cristis Chirche. Þe knyghtis
shulden treuly knowe Goddis lawe *and* officers in his Chirche
5 *and* what þei shal do, and bi strengþe streyne hem to trauele
in her office, and ydel men in þe Chirche, þat God puttiþ not
yme ne lymytiþ hem þe office þat þei feynen hem to haue,
putte hem out bi strengþe, *and* lymyte hem her labore. And þanne
shulde Cristis Chirche be purgid of truauntes *and* ristly

B: 2 vengussed] vengused 7 yn ne] *corr.int.*

T: 1 haþ vengushid] haue ourcomen H 2 bi] by his HY 3 þe] Þise HY
5 shal] schulden H, streyne] strengþe Y, hem] þeim H 6 her] þair HY,
men] men þat bene H 7 hem þe] þem H, feynen] semen Y, hem] þem H,
to] *om.* HY 8 hem¹] þem H, hem her] þem þair office *and* þair H,
hem þer Y 9 be] welle be H

B

and rystlyche growe to heuene as an euene tree, for bastard
braunches letteþ þe growynge of þis tree, and charge of
temporal goedes yknytte by coueytyse makeþ þes bowes to bowe
and letteþ þis tre to grewe.

- 5 Þe grounde of þis hous þat stondeþ [in] laboreres ys lest
ydel of oþer for here sensible trauayl, for þey beþ neded
to worche *and* bereþ vp o[þer] partyes. And as þey scholde be
taust by clerkes to kepe Godes lawe, so scholde þey be
defended by lordes in here ryst. For it may falle þat prestes

T

growe to heuen as an euene tree, for bastard braunchis
letten þe growyng of þis tree, *and* charge of temporal goodis
knyttid bi coueitise makip þe bowes to bowe, *and* lettip þis
tree to growe.

- 5 Þe ground of þis hous þat stondip *in* laborers is leest
ydel of oþere for her sensible traueil, for þei ben nedid to
worche *and* bere vp oþere partis. And as þei shulden be taust
bi clerkis to kepe Goddis lawe, so shulden þei /be defendid f.14^r
bi lordis *in* her rist. For it may falle þat prestis wolen

B: 5 in] *and* 7 oþer] oure

T: 2 letten] lettid Y, goodis] goddis Y 3 makip] maken Y, þe]

þise HY, to] for to H 5 stondip in] is H 6 her] þair HY

9 bi] wiþ H, her] þair H

B

wole spoyle hem by ypocrisye *and* bysynesse of here trauayl,
þat God bad hem do, turne it to pryuey raueyn as Antecrist
techeþ hem.

O Lord, yf charite were ysprad in þis Church and eche
5 man trauailed trewelyche in þe office þat God hap ȝyue hym,
how clene scholde þe Church be, wiþoute wem or wryn/kele. f.89^v

T

spoyle hem bi ypocrisie *and* bisynesse of her trauel, þat God
bad hem do, turne to priuey raueyn as *Antecrist* techiþ hem.

O Lord, if charite were spred *in* þe Chirche *and* eche man
trauelide treuly *in* þo office þat God hap ȝyuen him, hou
5 clene shulde þe Chirche be, wiþouten wem or wrynkel. But
Goddis name is takun *in* veyn *and* men seken her owne þing, as
if þei wold reule *Cristis* Chirche *and* not bi Goddis lawe. And
herfor *Antecrist* hap cast to make him a new lawe *and* preyse it
more þan lawe of Hooli Writt for, as he seiþ, Goddis lawe
10 is falsest of alle opere. O God, ȝif lordis wolden þenke on her
bileue *and* on her office siþ þei ben *Cristis* knyȝtis, *and*
mayntene bi strengþe prestis *in* trewþe þat stonden for

T: 1 hem] þem H 2 hem] þem H, to] into H, hem] þem H 3 þe] þis HY
4 trauelide] traueile Y, þo] þe HY 6 her] þer Y 8 a new] new HY
9 more] myche more HY, lawe¹] þe law HY 10 God] Lorde H, her] þeir HY
11 her] þer Y

B

And þenne noþer clerkes, ne knyȝtes, noþer laboreres scholde
take þus þis holy name an ydel *and* wiþoute cause as false
Cristene men now doþ many tyme, brekyng þys secunde
commaundement.

- 5 Þe þrydde *commaundement* of God ys to kepe oure halyday,
and ys bode in þes wordes in þe boke of Godes lawe: 'Haue
mynde to halewe þe day þat ys Godes Sabote. In syxe dayes

T

Cristis lawe and hizen it ouer oþer! But *Antecrist* haþ blyndid
so þes seculer lordis þat he takip fro hem heuenli help
and help of þe world, for thechyng of Goddis lawe *and* lordship
of þe world is sutely reft hem bi gynnes of þe fend. *And*

- 5 þus false *Cristen* men taken Goddis name *in* veyn.

{ *Capitulum Decimum* } Tercium mandatum

The þridde *comaundement* of God is to kepe oure haliday
and is bedun in þes wordis *in* book of Goddis lawe: 'Haue mynde
to halewe þe haliday þat is Goddis Sabot. In sixe dayes

T: 2 hem] þem H 4 hem] þem H 6 *Capitulum Decimum*] *mar.* T, *om.* H,
Tercium mandatum] *om.* HY 7 *comaundement*] *maundement* HY, (*mar.* *Tercium*
mandatum T) 8 book] þe book Y 9 þe] þin H, haliday] dai Y

B

schalt þou worche *and* doo þyne owene workes, bot in þe seueþe
day ys reste of þy Lord God; and þat day schalt þou do no
seruyle workes and fro þes workes schal þes syxe kepe hem:
þy sone *and* þy douster, þy seruant *and* þy mayde, þy worke beste *and*
5 stroungere þat dwelleþ in þyn hous. For in syxe dayes made
God heuene *and* erþe and al þyng þat ys wiþynne hem and reste
þe seueþe day; and herfore he blessede þe Sabote *and* makede
þis day holy.'

þes þynges scholde we note in þis commaundement:

T

shalt þou worche *and* do þin owne werkis, but *in* seuenþe day
is rest of þi Lord God; *in* þat day shalt þou do no
seruyle werkis and fro þis werk shulen þes sixe kepe hem:
þi sone *and* þi douster, þi seruaunt *and* þi mayden, þi werke beest
5 *and* þi straunger þat dwelliþ *in* þin hous. For *in* sixe daies
made God heuene *and* erþe *and* al þat is wiþynne it *and* restide
in seuenþe day; *and* herfor he blesside þe Sabot *and* made
þis day hooli.'

Pre þingis shulden we note in þis maundement: first

T: 1 *in*] *in* þe HY 2 no] noon Y 3 werk] werkis Y 4 þi seruaunt]
and þi seruaunt Y, mayden] maide Y 5 *and* þi] *and* þe H, þi Y
6 made God] *trs.* Y, it] þem H, hem Y 7 *in*] *in* þe HY

B

fyrst why Godes lawe seȝþ, 'Beþenke þe to holde þy Sabot'; *and*
 how men halweþ tyme, syþ tyme may neuere be groped ne knowe
 of bodylyche wyt. As to þe fyrste, we saye þat þe þrydde
commaundement byndeþ men for tymes, as on day in þe wyke, and
 5 noust contynuellyche as þis opere *commaundement*3, *and* herefore
 God byddeþ ous to haue mynde to holde oure halyday. And also
 þis þrydde *commaundement* ys *propred* to þe Holy Gost, *and* he
 ys mynde of þe Fader *and* wyt of þe Sone; and also in þis
commaundement we scholde þenke on Godes workes. Herfore

T

whi Goddis lawe seiþ, 'Biþenke to holde þi Sabot'; siþ, what
 is þe Sabot; *and* hou men halowen tyme, siþ tyme may neþer be
 gropid ne knowen of bodili witt. As to þe first, we seien
 /þat þis þridde maundement byndiþ men for tymes, as oon day f.14^v
 5 in þe woke, and not contynuely as þes opere maundementis;
 and herfor God biddiþ vs haue mynde to holde oure haliday.
 And also þis þridde maundement is *proprid* to þe Hooli Goost,
and he is mynde of þe Fader *and* witt of þe Sone; and also in þis
 maundment we shulden þenke on Goddis werkis. Herfor þe

T: 1 Sabot] haliday H siþ] siþen H, *and* siþ Y 2 þe Sabot] þis
 haliday H, Sabath Y, neþer] not Y 4 maundement] comaundement H,
 as] and as H, oon] o Y 6 oure] your H 8 witt] of þe witte HY
 9 on] of Y

B

þe wysdom of God byddeþ alle seuene persones to haue mynde
to halwe þus oure Sabote. As to þe secunde worde, we
schulle vnderstonde þat neuere we haleweþ ne blemeschep þe
tyme in hys kende, bot þen beþ we yseyde to halewe þe tyme
5 when/ne we kepeþ reste in holynesse in tyme; and þus scholde f.90^r
we do ones in þe woke, as vpon þe Saturday, *and* þenke on Godes
workes.

T

wisdom of God biddiþ alle seuene persones to haue mynde
for to halewe þus oure Sabot. As to þe secound word, we shal
vnderstonde þat 'Sabot' in Ebrew speche is as myche as 'rest';
and for God restide him on þe seueneþe day herfor þe seueneþe
5 day is clepid 'Sabot'. Oþere wittis of þis word mot we nede
leeue. As to þe þridde word, we shal vnderstonde þat neþer we
halewen ne blemyschen þe tyme in his kynd, but þamme ben we seid
to halowe þe tyme whamme we kepen rest *and* hoolynesse in tyme,
and þus shulden we do onys in þe woke, as vpon þe Satirday, *and*
10 þenke on Goddis werkis.

B: 1 byddeþ] byddeþ ous wiþ

T: 2 halewe] holde *and* halowe H 4 him] *om.* HY, on] *om.* H

5 Sabot] þe Sabot HY word] world H, nede] nedis Y

B

Bot here may men doute, syþ no man hap leue to change
þis *commaundement* ordeyned of God, how myzt we change oure
Sabote fro Saturday to Soneday? Bot we schulle vnderstonde
þat holdyng of þis *commaundement* in somdel ys *fygure* and
5 moralte in somdel; and anemtys þe *fygure* men mote nede
chaunge it in þe Newe Testament *and* kepe generalyche oure
Sabote. Among oper causes, restyng on þe Saterdag fygureþ
þe restyng of Criste þat he lay in sepulcre; and for þis
þyng ys passed we scholde noust kepe þe *fygure*. Also, syþ

T

But here may men doute, siþ no man hap leue to chaunge
þes *maundementis* ordeyned of God, hou myzte we change oure
Sabot fro Saturday to Soneday? But here we shal vndurstonde
þat holdyng of þis *maundement* in sumdeel is *figure* *and*
5 moralte in sumdeel; and anentis þe *figure* men moten nedis
chaunge it in þe Newe Testament *and* kepe generaly oure
Sabot. Among opere causis, restyng on þe Saturday figurþ
þe restyng of Crist þat he lay in þe sepulcre; and for þis
þing is passid we shulden not kepe þe *figure*. Also, siþ

T: 1 may men] *trs.* Y, siþ] siþen H, hap] hadde Y, to] for to HY
2 oure] þe H 3 here] *om.* HY 4 *and*] *and* and H 5 nedis] nede HY
6 in] *and* H 8 lay] restid H 9 þe] þis HY

B

we beþ nere þe tyme of þe resurreccioun þan were þe Jewes in
þe Olde Testament, we kepeþ þe eyzteþe age as þey kepte þe
seueþe. Þe fyrste age lesteþ fram Adam to Noe; þe secunde
from Noe into þe tyme of Abraham; þe þrydde from þe tyme
5 of Abraham into þe tyme of Dauyd; þe ferþe from þe tyme of
Dauyd to þe weyndynge into Babiloyne; þe fyfþe from þat
tyme into þe burþe of Crist; þe sexþe tyme from þe burþe
of Criste tyl þe day of dome; þe seueþe tyme of reste renneþ
wiþ þes sexe, bot þe eyzteþe tyme ys after þe day of dome

T

we ben nerrer þe tyme of resurreccioun þan weren þe Iewes
in þe Olde Testament, we kepen þe eiztþe age as þei kep[t]en
þe seuenþe. Þe first age lastide from Adam vnto Noe; þe
secound fro Noe vnto þe tyme of Abraham; þe þridde fro
5 tyme of Abraham vnto þe tyme of Dauþ; þe fourþe fro
tyme of Dauþ to wendynge into Babiloyne; þe fyueþe fro
þat tyme til birþe of Crist; þe sixte fro birþe of Crist
til þe day of doom; þe seuenþe tyme /of rest remyþ wiþ f.15^r
þes sixe, but þe eiztþe tyme is aftir þe day of doom

T: 2 kepte[n] kepen T, 2-3 (*mar. Etates mundi* T) 3 vnto] to H
5 tyme¹] þe tyme HY 6 tyme] þe time Y, to] vnto H, into] vnto Y
7 til] vnto HY, birþe] þe birþe HY 8 rest] rest þat H 9 þe day] day H

B

whan al Holy Churche schal fullyche reste in blysse, and in
tokene þis tyme we restep þe eyzteþe day.

Now were it to wyte how men scholde kepe here halyday.

And syþe seruyle worke ys worke of synne eche man scholde

- 5 on þe halyday kepe him out of synne, syþe Crist hymself
seyþ þat whosoeuere doo synne he makeþ him seruante to
synne, *and* noþyng ys worse. Bot for we scholde spende þe halyday
in herynge of God and elles we synnep gretlyche in faylynge of

T

whame al Hooli Chirche shal fully rest *in* bliss, *and* to
bitokene þis tyme we resten þe eiztþe day.

Capitulum Undecimum

Now were it to wite hou men shulden kepe her haliday.

- 5 And siþ moost seruyl werk is worchyng of synne eche man
shulde on haliday kepe him out of synne, siþ Crist himsilf
seiþ þat whoeuer doiþ synne he makip him seruauant to syme,
and noþing is worse. But for we shulden spende þe haliday in
heriying of God *and* ellis we synnen greetly *in* failyng of his

T: 3 *Capitulum Undecimum*] *om.* H 4 to] for to H, her] þair H, (*mar.*
Capitulum Undecimum T) 6 out of] fro H 8 worse] worþe Y, spende]
kepe Y 9 *and*] *om.* Y

B

his /seruyce, herefore we scholde on þe halyday kepe ous fro f.90^v
suche workes [þat letteþ þe seruyce of God fullyche in oure
soule and suche workes beþ ycleped seruyle workes and stondeþ
moost in] suche þat occupieþ mannes soule *and* letteþ it to þenke
5 on God *and* worschepe him *and* loue him; *and* so doþ more tellynge
of moneye *and* countynge of worldlyche goede þan goynge to þe plowe.
Bot eche man scholde on þe holyday schappe him such reste þat most
scholde quyetē his soule and able him to serue God, and herefore
þe Jewes keppe for a rule to trauely on þe Saterdag no more þan a
10 myle. Neþeles, yf þer be bodylyche trauel þat ys nedful to

T

seruyse, herfore we shulden on þe haliday kepe vs fro sicke
werkis þat letten þe seruyse of God fully in oure soule, *and*
sicke werkis ben clepid seruyle werkis *and* stonden moost in
sicke þat occupien memmes soule *and* letten it to þenke on
5 God *and* worshipe him *and* loue him; *and* so doiþ more harm telling
of money *and* countyng of worldly good þan goyng at þe plow³.
But eche man shulde on þe haliday shape him sicke rest þat
moost shulde quyetē his soule *and* able him to serue God, and
herfor þe Iewes kepide it for a reule to traueile on þe
10 Saterdag no more but a myle. If þer be bodili traueil

B: 2-4 þat letteþ þe seruyce of God fullyche in oure soule and suche
workes beþ ycleped seruyle workes and stondeþ moost in] *and* wipstonde most

T: 4 *memmes*] *mammes* H 5 harm] *om.* HY 6 worldly] worldis Y,

good] godes H, þan] more þane H, at þe] to Y 9 a] {a}

corr.int. H, traueile] halewe Y 10 but] þan HY

B

man, he may wel on þe halyday take it in mesure, as he may
on þe halyday cloþe him, go *and* fede him, and so *praye and*
preche and do bodylyche þynges þat scharpeþ a man to serue
God more þan he scholde elles. And here we may see how þes
5 false Jewes repreued Criste of brekyng of his halyday,
for he dyde *communelyche* myracles on þe halyday, for, as
himself seyþ þat ys most resoun, 'If it be lefful to drawe out
on þe halyday þy neyzebores best þat lyþ in þe myre, moche
more it ys lefful to do a betere dede.' And þus we blame

T

þat is nedeful to man, he may wel on þe haliday take it in
mesure, as man may on þe haliday cloþe him, go *and* fede him, *and*
so *preie and preche and* do bodili þingis þat sharpen a man to
serue God more þan he shulde ellis. And here may we se hou
5 þes false Iewes reprouyd Crist for brekyng of his haliday,
for he dide myraclis comounly on þe haliday, for, as he
himsilf seiþ þat is moost resoun, 'If it be leueful to drawe
out on þe haliday þi neizbores beest þat lieþ in þe myre,
myche more it is leueful to do a betere dede.' And þus we blamen

T: 1 þe] *om.* H 2 þe] *om.* H 3 *preie and preche]* *preche and pray* H
5 for] of HY 6 þe] *om.* H 9 is leueful] *trs.* H a] *om.* Y

B

worse þan Jewes fele bodylyche werkes *and* punysche men for
hem, and worse werkes we suffere and do worse ous-syf, as
many vnleffulle pleyes we vse on þe halyday *and* many
fleschelyche symes as yf þey were þanne lefful. Ich wote
5 wel þat God, of his grete curtesye, wole þat man solace him
on þe halyday, bot algate kepe from synne for þerynne
ys non solas. And yf þou wole knowe synne lerne þes ten
commaundement3, for no man may synwe bot azenst hem. *And* so
discrecioun *and* studye in Godes lawe scholde teche a man

T

worse þan Iewes many bodili werkys *and* punyshen men for
hem, *and* worse werkis we suffren *and* don worse ouresilf, as
many vnleueful pleies we vsen on þe haliday *and* many
fleisli synnes as if þei weren þanne leueful. I woot wel
5 þat God, /of his greet curtesie, wole þat man solace him on f.15^v
þe haliday, but algatis kepe him fro synne for þerynne
is no solace. And if þou wolt knowe synne lerne þes ten
comaundementis, for no man may synne but azen^s hem. And
so discrecioun *and* studyng in Goddis lawe shulden teche a man

T: 1 many] fele HY 2 ouresilf] vsself HY 6 þe] om. H 8 azen^s] azen Y 9 studyng] studie HY.

B

betere to holde his halyday þan doþ his *propre preste*. For
it ys medful to do workes in þe weke and on þe Soneday suche
werkes scholde be lefte, for þe moste heyze werke þat /a man f.91^r
can serue God ynne scholde he schappe him to doo on þe halyday.

- 5 For it ys a gret curtesye of God þat grauntede ous to worche
sexe dayes in þe woke to gete ous oure bodylyche sustynauⁿce
þat in schort tyme schulle be wormes mete and rotye. Þan
skylful it ys þat on day in þe woke, *and* þat ys in þe halyday,
men bysy hem *pr*incipalyche for gostlyche goedes, to helpynge
10 of here soules þat schal laste euere wiþoute ende. And þerfore
God also byddeþ þe haue mynde to halwe þyn halyday.

- Halewynge of þe halyday ys lyuynge holylyche vpon þe
holyday. Bot it semep now on dayes þat þe holyday may
skylfullyche be yclepyd þe sory day, for of alle dayes þe
15 holydayes bep most cursedlyche yspend in þe deueles seruyse
and in despyte of God *and* alle seyntes of heuene. And þough

T

- betere to holde his haliday þan don þes *propre prestis* or
clerkis of þe chapitre. For ofte tyme it were [m]edeful
to do werkis in þe woke *and* on þe Summeday siche werkis
shulden be left, for þe moost hize werke þat man kan serue
5 God yme shulde he shape him to do on þe haliday.

T: 1 þes] his HY 2 þe] om. HY, medeful] nedeful T 3 to] om. HY
5 shape] scharpe Y

B

- þer were no mo synnes ydo vpon þe eorþe bot brekyng of þes
two *commaundementz* of vayne *and* false *and* orryble opes swerynge
and of cursede lyuyng vpon halydayes, it ys wondere þat God
suffreþ þe peple vpon þe erþe to lyue, saue for to loke
5 wheþer þey wolde amende hem, for elles depe dampnacioun schal
falle vpon hem. And þe lengere þat he abydeþ hem þe sorer he
schal smyte, bot yf þey amende hem. For Seynt Bernard seyb
þat þe lengere þat God abydeþ ous þat we scholde amende, by
so moche þe straytur he schal deme ous yf we be necgligent.
10 Bot forþere we schulle vnderstonde þat in þre maneres of
occupaciouns we schulle spende oure halyday, as holy doctores
seyþ: in mynde or in soule, in mouþ *and* in werk. Fyrst in mynde
or soule vpon þe halyday, whan þou hast hadde þy bodylyche
reste, rysyng vp *and* goyng to churche, nouzt to iangle noþer
15 to iape þere, noþer to mer/chaundyse in þe churche noþer in f.91^v
þe churche hey, syþ it ys a place yordeyned to praynge fer
fro wordlyche bysynesse. And þere on þe halyday *and*
speciallyche on þe Soneday þou schalt þenke how God made þe
wordle of nouzt on a Someday, *and* þat he aroos fro deþ to
20 lyue on a Sonneday, *and* how he sende wytt *and* wysdom into erþe
on a Sonneday, and vpon a Sonneday, as clerkes seye, schal be
domes day. For Sonneday was þe first day þat God made and

B

schal beo þe laste euerelastyng, in ioie *and* blysse and
lyzt to hem þat schulleþ be sauued in heuene *and* euerelastyng
sorwe and derkenesse to hem þat schulleþ be dampned in helle.
þenke hertelyche on þis, *and* forþeremore þenke how God hap
5 made þe of nouȝt and how þou haddest forsake him þurgh synne
and ytake þe to þe fend of helle wipoute ende hadde nouȝt
Crist, God *and* man, suffrede deþ. þenke þe forþeremore how ofte
and how vnkyndelyche þou hast þurgh dedlyche synne forsake
Ihesu Criste *and* alle his kyndenesse *and* alle his goednesse *and*
10 ytake þe to þe fende *and* his seruice. *And* þanne for þyn
vnkyndenesse be ynwardlyche sory *and* þonke God of his grace *and*
of his kyndenesse *and* crye him hertelyche mercy of þyne
wykkedenesse *and* foule vnkyndenesse. *And* byþenke þe how þou
mayst best in tyme tocomynge serue God *and* mende þy wykkede
15 lyuyng *and* encrease in goednesse.

þe secunde tyme þou schalt spende þyn holyday wip mouþ
spekyng, in knowelechyng *and* in schryuyng þe of þy synnes yf
þou se þe agreuyd in eny notable synne; *and* þanne in prayng to
God of grace *and* mercy *and* socour now *and* in tyme comyng; *and* in
20 seyyng deuoute bedes *and* þankyng God of alle his ȝyftes *and* his
goednesse; and also wip þy mouþ speke al goednesse. *And* yf þou
be a prest *and* hauest kunnyng *and* auctoryte preche *and* teche
Godes worde to his peple, and yf /þou be no prest noþer f.92r

B

clerke bot on of þe peple þenne bysy þe in þe halyday to here
prechyng of Godes worde, *and* be aboute wiþ þy goede spekyng *and*
styryng to bryng þy neyzebores to betere lyuyng, *and* yf þey
be at debate bryng hem by þy power to loue *and* charite *and*
5 acord. And þus spende þy mouþ *and* þy speche on þe halyday to
worschep of þy God *and* help *and* comfort of þyn euene Cristene.

þe þrydde tyme þou schalt spende þyn holyday in þy
dedes *and* worchyng, as ich seyde byfore, goyng wiþ þy body to
churche to here Godes seruyse *and* bydde þy deuoute prayeres,
10 after to vysite hem that beþ syke *and* in myschef, to comforte
and to releue hem resonabelyche after þy power *and* after here
nede. *And* so vpon þe holyday 3e schulleþ specialyche bysye
3ow in þe workes of charyte *and* of mercy, to helpyng of 3oure
soules *and* to relyuyng of 3oure pore neyzebores, *and* specialyche
15 þat God haþ made nedy oþer by age oþer by auenture, as by
sykenesse or by myschef. For to hem byddeþ Crist to do þyn
almesse, þat is to seye, as Crist seyþ in þe Gospel *and* as Seynt
Richard expouneþ, 'Whanne þou makest a feste, clepe pore
feble, pore crokede *and* pore blynde *and* þou schalt be blessed,
20 for þey haueþ nou3t to rewarde þe, *and* þan for soþe it schal be
rewarded to þe in þe rewarde of ryztful men in þe blisse of
heuene.'

B

Pus to spende þe halydayes *and* principalliche Sonnedayes
Cristene men scholde lerne by techynge of prestes; *and* amang

T

{*Capitulum Duodecimum*}

- It were to wite ouer þis of multitude of halidaies *and*
whame þei shulden bigyme *and* whame þei shulden eende. Wel
y woot þat hooli men shulden euere holde haliday; *and* in tokene
5 herof summe prestis han þis vss, to vse her haliday cloþis
boþe haliday *and* werkday; but wel y woot þat sicke signes
maken not men hooly. As anentis þe multitude of þes
halidaies, me þinkeþ, saaf betere iugement of men, þat it were
ynow generally to laboreris to be *bunden in* þe woke to
10 kepe þe Sumeday. But wel y woot þat opere festis don ofte
tyme good as þe Iewes hadden in here lawe foure greete
feestis. Ne y seie not þat ne feestis of seyntis don miche
good *and* ofte many of hem don myche harm. But y woot þat
God wole þat fredom of his lawe be kept specialy, as Seynt
15 Poul techiþ. And þerfor it is ful perelous to bynde men

T: 1 *Capitulum Duodecimum*] *mar.* T, *om.* H 5 her] þer Y 7 not] noȝt H,
men] a man H 8 þinkeþ] þenke Y, of men] *om.* Y 9-10 *in* þe woke
to kepe] to kepe *in* þe woke Y 10-11 ofte tyme] often H 11 good]
myche goode H, here] þeir HY 12 not] noȝt H 13 But] But welle HY
14 wole] wold H, be] wer H

B

alle oper festes loke þat þou kepe wel þes foure: Crystemasse.
Ester, Ascensyon *and* Wytsonneday. For a gret clerk seyþ
þat non feste ne seruyse þat is of oper seynt³ is
plesynge to God, bot in as muche as {hyt} scharpeþ {þe more} man
5 to loue oure Lord Ihesu Crist.

T

ouer resoun. But be war þat þou kepe þes foure feestis:
Cristemasse and Estren, þe *Ascencioun and Wittsonday*. For [a
greete clerk seiþ þat] no feest ne seruyse þat is of opere
seynt^{is} is plesyng to God, but *in* as myche as it sharpþ a man to
5 loue oure Lord Ihesu *Crist*. And herfor whame we [se]ien of ony
oper seynt, we bigynnen *and* eenden wiþ þis name of þis Lord.

As anentis bigymyng *and* eendying of þe haliday, God
tauste þe Iewes to bigyme /at euensong *and* eende at tyme f.16^r
of euensong *in* þe secound day. Ne charge not to myche
10 bigymyng or eendying of þe seruyse of God, for he is Lord
of tyme, and *in* eche tyme shulden men serue him *and* so,
in a maner, holde euere haliday. But more passyngly on þe
Sunday, for on þe Sumeday God made þe world; and also on
þe Sumeday he roos fro deþ to lijf; *and* on þe Sumeday he

B: 3-4 is plesynge] is so plesynge 4 hyt] *corr.int.*, þe more] *corr.int.*

T: 2 þe] *om.* HY, Wittsonday] Wittesouztide HY 2-3 a greete clerk seiþ

þat] *om.* HTY 4 as it] þat it HY, a man] man H, men Y 5 oure Lord] *om.* H,

we seien] weien T. 5-6 seien of ony oper seynt] saint H 6 þis name] þe name HY

7 þe] *om.* HY 8 to bigyme] bigyme H 11-12 *and* so *in* a maner holde euere

haliday but more] *om.* H 13 on] vpon HY, also] eke HY

B

Wherefore we scholde bysye ous deuoutelyche on halydayes, *and*
studye on *vertues and* on þes ten commaundement³, on /þe seuene f.92^v
workes of mercy bodylyche *and* gostlyche. *And* speche wiþ men
scholde be of heuenlyche þynges *and* so scherpe oure wyttes
5 to wexe into þe loue of oure Lord Ihesu Crist. And putte
away gyles, wronges *and* oþer synnes, for elles þe halyday
of men ys turnede into þe workeday, syþþe þe worste workeday
ys by seruyse of synne. Ne take nouȝt to muche hede to signes,
[as Jewes, for Ihesu Crist ys yryse: treuþe and ende of signes].

T

sende þe Hooli Goost; *and*, as clerkis seien, on þe Sumeday shal
be his last iugement *and* rest in þe bliss of heuene.

Cristen men shulden lerne bi techyng of prestis to
bisie hem deuoutly on þe haliday, and studie on vertues and
5 *synnes and on ten comaundementis*, on seuene werkis of mercy
bodily and goostli, and speche wiþ men shulde be of heuenli
þingis. And putt away giles, wrongis and oþer synnes, for ellis
þe haliday of men is turned into werkday, siþ þe worst
werkday is be seruyse of synne. Ne take we not to myche
10 hede to signes as Iewes, for Ihesu Crist is risen: treuþe *and*

B: 9 as Jewes for Ihesu Crist ys yryse treuþe and ende of signes] *om.*

T: 1 on] vpon HY 2 þe] *om.* H 3 men] {men} *corr.int.* H

4 on þe] of þe H 5 ten] þe ten Y, seuene] þe seuen Y

7 for] *and* Y 8 siþ] siþen Y 9 of] to HY, we] *om.* HY

10 as] of Y

B

for I am certayn þat he despyseþ to costelewe clopes *and* to
costelewe metes. For alle þyng scholde be don in resoun *and*
measure, and Crist chargeþ more clenness of soule þan
clenness of body, for in a clene soule woneþ he hymself *and*
5 elles he forsakeþ it. And so in goed kepyng of þes þre
commaundement3 scholde we lerne to loue God in parfyt charite.

þe secunde tabule of þe oþer commaundement3 conteyneþ
seuene commaundement3 *and* techē þe to loue þy neyzebore as

T

ende of signes. And y am certeyn þat he dispisib to costly
clopis, vestymentis or chirchis, or to costly metis. For
al þing shulde be don in resoun *and* measure, and Crist
chargib more clenness of soule þan clenness of body,
5 for in a clene soule woneþ himsilf yme *and* ellis he
forsakib it. *And so in good kepyng of þes þre maundementis*
shulen we lerne to loue God in parfijt charite.

Capitulum [Primum]

The secound table of oþere maundementis of God
10 conteyneþ seuene maundementis *and* techib þe to loue þi

T: 1 y am] *trs.* Y, certeyn] seker H, to] to ech Y 3 þing shulde]
þingis schulden Y 4 of] of/of Y 7 shulen] schulden HY, charite]
charite. þe secunde table H, charite first comaundement of þe secunde table Y
8 *Capitulum*] *om.* H, Primum] *Tertium Decimum* T, *om.* H 9 oþere] þe oþer H,
(*mar. Mandata secunde table* T) 10 (*mar. Capitulum Primum* T)

B

byself; and þat þou schalt kunne by þe þre *commaundement*
 of þe fyrst table, for what man þat euere kepeþ þes þre
commaundement he loueþ himself *and* al onelyche he. And þus
 þes ten *commaundement* beþ knyht togedere þat whoeuere
 5 loue his neyzebore loueþ his God, syþþe þes two braunches
 of charite mowe nouzt be departed. *And* herefore seip Seynt Jon
 in his fyrste epystel, 'He þat loueþ nouzt his broþer þat
 he seeþ at eyze, how may he louy his God þat he seeþ nouzt?'

And syþþe þes ten *commaundement* sueþ resoun of more

T

neizbore as þisilf; *and* þat þou shalt kenne by þe þre
maundementis of first table, for what man euer kepeþ þes
 þre *maundementis* he loueþ himsilf *and* also his neizbore. And
 þus þes ten *comaundementis* ben knyttid togidre, þat whoeuer
 5 loueþ his neizbore he loueþ his God, siþ þes two braunchis
 of charite may not be partid. And þerfor seiþ Seynt Jon
 in his first epistle, 'He þat loueþ not his broþer whom
 /he seeþ at yze, hou loueþ he his God þat he seeþ not?' f.16^v

And siþe þes *maundementis* suen resoun of more kepyng,

T: 1 þou shalt] *trs.* HY, þre] þre firste T 2 first] þe first HY,
 man] man þat HY 3 also his neizbore] alle onely he HY 4 þus] *om.* Y,
 comaundementis] *maundementis* Y 5 his¹] his his H, two] *om.* H
 6 partid] *departid* Y, þerfor] herefore HY 7 whom] þat HY

B

kepyng, þe fyrste of þes seuene byddeþ þe loue þyn
elderes, *and* ys ywryte in Godes lawe by forme of þes wordes:
'Worschepe þy fader *and* also þy moder þat þou be in longe
lyf vpon erþe þat þy Lord God schal ȝeue þe.' Here fyrst
5 mote we wyte of fader *and* moder þat some beþ of kynde neer
and some ferþer. Þy next fader is he þat bodylyche gate
þe *and* þy neyȝest moder þat bodylyche /bare þe. Þyn elde f.93^r
fader *and* elde moder beþ þyn [fer] eldres, *and* alle þese
scholdest þou worsche[pe] [yf þay be on lyue *and*, yf þay
10 be dede worschepe hem] in soule.

T

þe first of þes seuene biddiþ þee loue þin eldris *and* is
writen in Goddis lawe bi foorme of þes wordis: *Worshipe þi*
fader and also þi moder, þat þou be of lon[g] lijf on þe erþe
þat þi Lord God shal ȝyue þee. First moten we wite of
5 fader *and* moder þat summe ben of kynde nerrer *and* ferþer. Þi
next fader is he þat bodily gate þee, *and* þi next moder
þat bodily bare þee; þin elde fader *and* elde moder ben þi fer
eldris; *and* alle þes shuldest þou wo[r]shipe if þei ben on lyue
and, if þei ben deed, worshipe hem in soule.

B: 8 fer] fadres *and* modres eldres *and* also þyn 9 worschepe] worsche
9-10 yf þay be on lyue *and* yf þay be dede worschepe hem] *om.*

T: 1 *and*] *and* it Y 1-2 is writen in Goddis lawe] in boke of Goddes law
is writen H 3 long] lon T, on þe erþe] vpon erþe H, *om.* Y 4 þi
Lord God] þe Lord þi God HY, þee] to þee Y 5 *and* ferþer] or ferþer HY
6 gate] bigaate Y 7 elde¹] elder Y 8 alle] *om.* H, worshipe] woschipe T

B

And alle yf eche commaundement of God is resonable, nepeles
[opene] resoun nedep to kepe þis commaundement. For resoun
and kynde meueþ to loue him þat loueþ þe in goednesse *and*
trauelyþ muche for þe, bot by werke *and* suffrynge þyn eldres
5 haueþ broust þe forþ *and* yordeyned for þe wonynge *and* rychesse.
What man scholdest þou loue bot yf þou louedest hem? And
for God haþ more resoun of loue for he made þe of nouzt *and*
kepeþ þe *and* medeþ þe, þerfore þou scholdest loue more God þan
eny creature. *And* herefore seyb Crist þat he þat

T

And if eche maundement of God is resonable, nepeles
opun resoun nedip to kepe þis maundement. For resoun *and*
kynd moeuen to loue him þat loueþ þee in goodnesse *and*
trauelip myche for þee, but in werk *and* suffryng þin eldris
5 han broust þee forþ *and* ordeyned for þee in teching *and* richness.
What man shuldest þou loue but if þou louedist hem? *And* for
God haþ more resoun of loue, for he made þee of nouzt *and*
kepiþ þee *and* medip þee, þerfor þou shuldest loue more God
þan ony creature. And herfor seiþ Crist þat he þat loueþ

B: 2 opene resoun] vpon resoun it 9 Crist] Crist God *and* man

T: 1 if] alle zif HY, eche] iche a H 3 moeuen] moueþ H 4 in]

bi HY 5 in] boþe in Y

B

- louep more his eldres þan him is nou3t worpy to haue him,
sybbe Crist, God *and* man, haþ more resoun of loue. Þes beþ þe
eldres þat þou scholdest worschepe, *and oþer maner* fadres wiþ
modres also. Bot it were to wyte how þou scholdest
- 5 worschepe hem, for many wenep to worschepe hem *and* dyshonureþ
hem. Some men þer beþ þat worschepeþ in God *and* some worschepeþ
onlyche to þe worlde. Þis fyrst maner of worschepe ys bede
of God *and* þe secunde worschepe forfendeþ he to be do. He

T

- hise eldris more þan him is not worpi to haue him, siþ
Crist, boþe God *and* man, haþ more resoun of loue. Þes ben þe
eldris þat þou shuldest worshiþe, *and oþere maner* of fadris
wiþ moder[s] also. But it were to wite hou þou shuldest
- 5 worshiþe hem, for many men wenen to worshiþe *and* dishonoren.

Capitulum Secundum

Sum men þer ben þat worshiþen in God *and* summe þat
worshiþen oonly to þe world. Þis first maner of worship is
bedun of God *and* þe secound worship forfendiþ he to be don.

T: 2 boþe] *om.* HY 3 of] *om.* HY 4 moders] *moder* T 5 men] *om.* H,
wenen] *weren* Y 6 *Capitulum Secundum*] *om.* H 7 (*mar. Capitulum Secundum* T),
summe þat] *sum men* HY 8 Þis] þe H

B

worschepeþ in God þat obeschyþ to man and doþ þat resoun
axeþ to profyt to the man. *And* so worschep in God stondeþ
nou3t al in lowtyng, ne gretynge, ne knelynge, ne suche
worldelyche signes, ne it forfendeþ noust suche signes in
5 resoun. *And* so he worschepeþ his fader as he scholde doo þat
helpeþ him in nede boþe bodylyche *and* gostlyche. *And* so þou
scholdest worschepe þy fader in bodyliche helpe *and* algates
help hym gostlyche, for þerof he haþ nede.

And so worschepyng of fader *and* moder stondeþ
10 principalyche in dede, as in caas þy fader *and* moder beþ come

T

He worshipiþ in God þat obesheþ vnto man *and* doip þat resoun
axeþ to [profijt to] þo man. *And* so worship in God
stondiþ not al in loutyng ne in gretyng, ne knelyng,
ne siche worldly signes, ne it forfendiþ not siche þingis
5 in mesure. *And* so he worshipiþ his fader as he shulde
do þat helpiþ h[y]m in nede /boþe bodily *and* goostly. *And* f.17^r
so þou shuldest worshiþe þi fader in bodili help *and*
algate helpe hym goostly, for þerof haþ he nede.

T: 1 obesheþ] obs/schip Y, vnto] to Y, doip þat] doþ as H 2 to
profijt to] to T, þo] þe HY 3 stondiþ] *and* stondiþ Y, in gretyng]
gretyng H 4 siche] in siche H 4-5 þingis in mesure] signes in
reson HY 6 hym] hem TY, bodily *and* goostly] goostli *and* bodili Y

B

- to nede *and* myschef by age or by aventure, þou art ybounde to
helpe hem by seruyce, boþe wiþ /þy body *and* sucoure wiþ þy f.93^v
catel. And yf þey be in synne, or haue nede to gostelyche
techyng or comfort, þou art yholde, yf þou kunne, to teche
5 hem *and* comforte hem. If þou kunne nouzt þou art yholde by þy
power to gete oþer to helpyng of hem. And yf þay be dede þou
art holde to lyue wel, to praye nyzt *and* day to God to delyuere
hem out of peyne. Þis is þe reuerence *and* worschep in dede þat
þe childe scholde do to þe fader *and* moder *and* þis lessoun
10 scholde eueryche bodylyche fader *and* moder (*and* namelyche
gostlyche fadres *and* also godfadres *and* godmodres) teche to here
chyl dren. And yf þis lessoun hadde be tauzt *and* ykept in
Engelond I trowe þe londe hadde ystonde in more
prosperite þan it hap ystonde many day. *And* it may be þat
15 [for] vengeaunce of þis synne of vnworschepyng *and* despysyng
of fadres *and* modres God sleep children by pestylence as 3e
seep al day. For in þe Olde Lawe children þat were rebelle *and*
vnbuxom to here fadres *and* modres were ypunysched by dep, as þe
fyfthe boke of Holy Wryt wytnesseþ in þis wyse: 'If a man,' he
20 seyþ, 'hap ygete a sone þat is rebelle oþer wykked *and* nel nouzt
{hyre} here fadres *and* modres heste *and* he yconstrayned despyseþ

B: 15 for] *om.* 21 hyre] *corr.mar.*

B

to obesche, þey schal take him *and* lede him to þe elderes of
pulke cyte *and* to þe zate of þe dome, *and* þanne hy schal seye to
hem, "Þeyse oure sone is wykkede *and* rebelle *and* despyse[þ] oure
techynges *and* take[þ] hede to vnmesurable etynges as to lecherye
5 and festes." Panne he schal be stenede *and* so he schal deye þat
al þe peple, huryng þis peyne, scholde drede to be rebelle to
fader or moder.' *And* þough God wole noust now þat þis payne of
bodylyche deþ beo execut in manere as it was þulke tyme vpon
suche trespassures, þe peyne is neuere þe lasse, bot rapþer he
10 schal be more hardere *and* lengere dure. For but suche children
/þat beþ rebelle, wykkede *and* vnbuxom amende hem here in tyme f.94^r
of here lyf, God schal smyte hem wip swerde of vengeaunce in þe
oure of here deþ, puttyng here soule into helle peyne, *and* in þe
laste day of dome he schal putte boþe body *and* soule togedre
15 into peyne of helle euerlestyng. Herefore do after þis
commaundement *and* suwe þe noble techer Poul þat seyþ þus:
'Children, obesche 3e to 3oure fader *and* moder, for it is
ryȝtful to worschepe þy fader. Þat is þe fyrste
commaundement in byhest þat it be wel to þe *and* þat þou be
20 longe lyuyng vpon erþe. *And* 3e fadres nel 3e stere 3oure
children to wrappe bot norysche hem *and* bryng hem forþ in

B: 3 despyseþ] despyse, hure *canc.* 4 takeþ] take

B

disciþlyne or lore *and* chastyng of God.'

- Here men *and* wommen mowe lerne to teche here children
Godes lawe in fayre *and* aysy manere whyles þey beþ songe,
to encrease in goednesse *and* vertues. And þerfore Poul
5 byddeth þat þe fader norysche his children in his lore
and chastyng of God *and* God commaundeþ in þe Olde Lawe þat
þe fadres scholde telle to here children Godes hestes *and*
þe wondres *and* þe myracles þat he dyde in þe londe of Egypte
and in þe Rede See *and* in water of Jordan *and* in þe londe of
10 behest. And muche more now in þe Newe Lawe beþ fader
and moder holde to teche here children þe byleue of þe Trynyte
and of Ihesu Crist, how he is verray God wipoute bygynnyng
and was made man þurgh most brennyng charite to saue
mankynde by stronge penaunce *and* harde turment *and* byter
15 deþ, and alle commune poynts of byleue. Bot þay beþ most
holde to teche hem Godes hestes *and* þe workes of mercy *and*
poyntes of charite, to gouerne wel here wyttes *and* to drede God
byfore alle oper þynges *and* to loue him most of alle þynges,
for he is endeles wysdom, endeles myȝt, endeles goednesse,
20 mercy *and* charite. And yf þey trespassse aȝenst Godes hestes
þey owne /to blame hem þerfore scharplyche, *and* chasty hem a f.94^v
þousandfolde more þan for trespassse *and* despyte or vnkyndenesse

B

ydoun azenste here owene persone. *And* þis techynge *and* chastyng
scholde in fewe 3eres make goede Cristene men *and* wommen; *and*
namelyche goede ensample of holy lyf of olde men *and* wommen,
for þat is best techynge to here children *and* to oþer Cristene
5 folke aboute hem.

Many prestes chargeþ godfadres *and* godmodres to teche
here children þe *Pater Noster* *and* þe *Crede* *and* þis is wel
ydo, bot it ys most nede to teche hem þe ten hestes of
God *and* 3eue hem goede ensample by here owene lyuyng. For
10 þough þey be Cristene *and* knowe þe *commune* poyntes of byleue,
sit scholde þay nou3t be saued wipoute kepyng of Godes
hestes bot be dampned deppere in helle þan heþene men; *and*
it hadde be betere to hem neuere haue resceyued Cristendom
bot yf þey ende trewelyche in Godes *commaundement3*, as Seynt
15 Peter techeth passynglyche. Bot som men setteþ here chyldren
to lerne jestes of batailles *and* of cronycles, *and* nouelleryes
of songes þat stereþ hem to iolyte *and* to harlatrye. *And* some
setteþ hem to nedeles craftes, for pryde *and* coueytyse þat harmeþ
here soules. *And* some setteþ hem to lawe for wymyng of
20 worldlyche worschepe *and* herto costep hugelyche in many weyes.
Bot in al þis Godes lawe is put behynde, *and* þerfore spekeþ
vnneþe eny man a goed worde to magnefyne God in saluacioun of

B

- mennes soules. Some techen here children to swere *and* stare *and*
fyste *and* to bescherewe alle men aboute, *and* of þis þey haue gret
ioye in here herte; bot certes þey beþ Sathanas ys techers *and*
procuratours to lede hem to helle by here cursede ensample *and*
5 techynge *and* noryschyng *and* meyntheynyng in synne, *and* beþ cruel
sleers of here children - 3e, more cruel þan þough þey
/hackede here children as smal as mosselles to here pot - for f.95^r
þis cursede techynge. *And*, endynge þerynne, here children, bodyes
and soules, beþ dampned wipoute ende in helle. *And* þough here
10 bodyes were yhackede neuere so smal, boþe body *and* soule scholde
be in blesse of heuene, so þat þey kepe truwelyche Godes
comaundement3. *And* of suche neglygent fadres *and* modres þat
techen nouȝt here children Godes lawe *and* chasten hem nouȝt
whanne þey trespasseþ aȝenst Godes hestes, Seynt Poule spekeþ
15 a dredful word: 'He þat haþ nouȝt cure of his owne, *and* most of
his homely *and* his housholde, haþ forsake þe feyþ, *and* he is worse
þan a man oute of Cristenedome.' *And* suche fadres *and* modres þat
menteynen wytynglyche here children in synne *and* techen hem
schrewednesse beþ worse þan þe cursede fadres þat culleþ here
20 children *and* offren hem vp to stockes, worschepyng fals
mametrye. For þey children were dede in here souþe *and* dyde

B: 15 (*mar. Primi Thimotei* 5)

B

no more synne, bot þes children of cursede fadres *and* modres
þat techen hem pryde, þefþe and lecherye, wrapþe, coueytise
and slouþe *and* glotenye and menteyne hem þerynne beþ holde
on longe lyf *and* in encresynge of synne, to more dampnacioun
5 of eche partye. *And* no wondere þough God take vengeance on þe
peple boþe olde *and* zonge, for alle communelyche despyse[þ] God
in þis: þat þey haueþ ioye *and* merþe { of synne, harlatry *and*
vnclamis } *and* despyseþ correcciouns *and* repreuynges. *And* þerfore
God mote punysche þis synne for his ryȝtful mageste.

10 Bot also in þis *commaundement* ȝe schullen vnderstonde þat
þer beþ þre manere of fadres *and* modres þe whiche ȝe beþ holde to
worschepe. Þe fyrste is bodylyche fader *and* moder whos
worschepe stondeþ principalyche in dede as it is ytold before.

Þe secunde fader þat þou schalt worschepe ys þy gostly
15 fader þat haþ cu/re of þy soule, to helpe him *and* menteyne him f.95^v
in Godes lawe *and* in goed gouemayle of Godes peple *and* to do
after him in þat þat Godes lawe techen, *and* elles þou
dysworschepest him *and* brekest Godes *commaundement*; and alle
his pareschenes beþ as oure moder. *And* þus alle men *and* wommen
20 scholde do worschepe ech to oþer, *and* namelyche to here parsoun,
or vicary, oþer prest þat haþ cure of here soules, and folwyng

B: 6 despyseþ] despysede 7-8 of synne....vnclamis] *corr.mar.*

B

his byddynges in þat þat Godes lawe techen.

þe prydde fader þat is *principal* of alle ys Crist, boþe
God *and* man, *and* Holy Churche, þat is Cristes spouse, is þy moder;
and hem þow schalt worschepe *and* loue *and* be obedient to hem in
5 kepyng here hestes *and* here conseyles wiþ al þy myzte. And
þenne worschepest þou þyn eldres as Godes lawe ys, and þus
scholde eche man worschepe oþer, as Seynt Poule techeth.

And in þis commaundement me may see þe resoun of mede þat
God himself behotē ous for kepyng of þis heste: syþ þou hast þy
10 bodylyche lyf of þyn eldres, yf þou worschepest þis cause more, vpon
resoun skyle wole þat þou haue more of þis lyf; *and* yf þou worschepest
in God more, skyle wole þat þou haue more of lyf in God. *And* here

T

þus shulde eche man worshiþe oþer, as Seynt Poul techiþ.

And here may we se þe resoun of mede þat God himsilf hetip
vs for kepyng of þis heest: siþ þou hast þi bodili lijf of
þin eldres, if þou worshipist þis cause more, vpon resoun
5 skile wole þat þou haue more of þis lijf; *and* if þou
worshipist in God [more, skile wole þat þou haue] more of
lijf in God. And here may we se

B: 8 þat] þat/þat

T: 1 þus] *and* þus Y 3 vs] *om.* Y, þis heest] þise hestes H, his

heeste Y 4-5 vpon resoun skile] opyn skille H 5 þat] *om.* HY

6 more skile wole þat þou haue] *om.* HTY 7 lijf] þi life, H, may we] *trs.* Y

B

may we see þat he worscheþ nouȝt in God his fader *and* moder
þat rycheþ hem to þe worlde *and* ȝeueþ hem worldelyche goedes
more þan resoun axeþ. And þis scholde men of þe Church note
þat rycheþ to mucche men *and* wommen of here kynne: if þy kyn be
5 nedy, help hem in resoun, bot make nouȝt þy kyn ryche to gete
þe a name. Yf þay suffyceþ to fynde hemself by here owene
trauayle, lete hem lyue by here owene trauayle. For Crist
cam of pore men *and* he þat is almyȝty *and* wytty *and* willefulle
lete his moder be pore *and* his pore cosynes; *and* whan þay axede

T

þat he worshipiþ not in God his fadir *and* moder þat richeþ
hem to þe world *and* ȝeueþ hem worldli goodis more þan resoun
axiþ. And shulden men of þe Chirche note þat richen to
myche men of her kyn: if þi kyn be nedy, helpe hem in
5 resoun, but make not þi kyn riche to gete þee a name.
If þei suffisen to fynde hemsilf bi her owne trauel,
late hem lyue bi her trauel. For Crist cam of pore men
and he þat is almyȝti, alwitty *and* al willeful lete his
moder be pore *and* hise pore cosyns; *and* whanne þei axiden

T: 1 þæt he] he HY, moder] his moder HY 2 hem] þem H 3 And]
And þis HY, richen] riche men Y 4 her] þer Y, þi] þair H 6 her]
þeir HY 7 her] þer HY 8 alwitty] *and* witty HY, al willeful]
willefulle HY

B

wor/schep *and* heynesse of þis worlde he deneyde hem þat *and* f.96^r
ordeynede hem passioun; and byleue techep ous he dyde al for
þe betere. *And* so scholde we sue him, yf we wille be his
children, *and* loue him more þan þe worlde or oure veyn name.

- 5 *And* so God forbedep noust bodylyche worschep, bot þenke on manere
of {it} *and* mesure it by resoun. *And* so it is laweful men to procure
for here children rychesse of þe worlde more þan þey to hem.
For as Seynt Poul seyp, 'Fadres tresourep to children more
þan children dop to hem, for þay louep hem more, as God louep

T

worship *and* hiznesse of þe worlde he denyede hem þat *and*
ordeynede hem passioun; *and* bileue techip vs he dide al for
þe bettere. *And* so shulden we sue him, if we wolen be hise
children, *and* loue him more þan þe worlde or oure veyn name.

- 5 *And* so God forbedip not bodili worship, but þenke on maner
of it *and* mesure it bi resoun. *And* so it is leueful [men] to procure
for [her] children richesse of þe world more þan þei to hem.
For as Seynt Poul seip, 'Fadris tresouren to her children more
þan children don to hem, for þei louen hem more, as God louep

B: 6 it] *corr.int.*

T: 1 worship] lordeschepe H, hem] þem H 2 hem] þem H 3 bettere]
bete H, we sue] we alle sue H 5 on] on þe Y 6 men] *om.* HTY
7 her] mens HTY, þe] þis H, þei] þei doon Y 7-9 to hem for as Seynt
Poul seip fadris tresouren to her children more þan children] *om.* H
8 her] *om.* Y

B

- man more þan man may loue God.' And herefore man may neuer
loue God to moche. Herefore þis Fader God *and* Holy Churche oure
moder we scholde worschepe nyzt *and* day, praynge to God oure
Fader to encesce and to fulfille þe nombre of alle þat
5 schal be saued. In þis manere þou schalt worschepe þy fader
and moder *and* þyn eldres bodylyche *and* gostlyche, *and* þis is þe
fyrste *commaundement* of þes seuene.

T

- man more þan man may loue God'. And herfor man may neuer
loue God to myche, al if men may faile in foly maner of
worship *and* wene he worshipiþ God whame he dispisiþ him;
and so it falliþ more in worship of þi fader.
5 [Capitulum Tercium]
Worship of þi goostli fader, as þi prelat or prest, is
ofte tyme takun amys, euen to þe *contrarie*. For þe worlde
iugiþ hym moost worshiþe [sicke fader] þat mak iþ him moost
shynyng /and riche to þe world; but þis is an eresie, ouer f.17^v
10 comyn þis day. Me þinkiþ þat we shulden seie, to suffre
herfor deef, þat if þi Pope, þi bisshop, þi parsoun or wiker
be knowun of þee to draw in þe deuelis 3ok, worshiþe him not as

T: 1 may loue] loueþ H, God] him Y, herfor] þerfore Y, neuer] not H
2 men] man Y, foly] fool Y 3 worshipiþ] wirschip H 5 Capitulum
Tercium] om. HT 8 worshiþe] to wurschip H, sicke fader] sicke faders H, om. T
9 shynyng and riche] riche *and* schining HY 9-10 ouer comyn] ouercomyng Y
11 þi Pope] þei Pope (e¹ *canc.*)T, wiker] þi viker HY 12 in þe] in Y

T

- siche but hate him as þin enemye *in* þat þat he is synful, but
loue him in soure kynde. And ofte tyme richesse *and* worship of
þe world aggregiþ syn of siche *and* makip men vnworshipe hem.
And so it harmeþ *in* soule þe child and þe fader. For bi oure
5 bileue we shulden loue hem *in* God *and* not to þe world, for
þame we haten hem. We louen hem *in* God if þat we moeuen
hem to holde Goddis reule *and* ordre þat Crist haþ zouen hem,
But, as it is shewed bi ten faire witnessis, Crist haþ beden
hem be pore *and* forbeden hem worldli worship. And siþ þat
10 lordis of þis world shulden worshipe moost siche fadris,
if þei putt þis lordship on hem þei don hym more dispijt;
and if þei dispise þus her God þei shal be maad vnnoble.
For he þat fuyliþ þus his prelat dispisiþ him more þan if
he defoylide alle hise vestimentis wiþ dritt. O, siþ Crist
15 hymself seiþ þat him þat he loueþ he reproueþ *and* chastisiþ,
whi shulden not we do so: if we louen men *in* God, telle
hem Goddis lawe, *and* procure þat þei holde his lawe? For

T: 4 child] children H, fader] faders H 6 haten hem] haten þem H
9 worship] lordeschip H 11 lordship] worschip Y, hym] hem HY
12 her] þer HY 15 hymself seiþ] *trs.* HY, him] in him Y
16 not we] *trs.* Y

T

- ellis we *haten hem*. And þus, if lordis louyde her eldris
in soule, þei shulden *quenche* her *errours* *and* make *hem* more
short, and folies þat þei bigan fordo *hem* at her myst.
And so, if þis maundement were kept bi Goddis lawe, lordis
5 shulde not 3yue her bisshops lordshipis of þis world ne
conferme hem þeryme, but take *hem* hastely from *hem*. And
houeuer þe world speke, þis is Goddis lawe; and at þe day
of doom shal bosteris be *doumbe* þat now reuersen þis
sentence *and* seien þat it is *eresie*. Many þingis wolen sue
10 herof *azens* oure worldli doying, but God 3yue *grace* þat
sumdel be put sone *in* practise. And þus men shulden be
aboute to worshipe /her dede eldris *and* reise vp Goddis lawe f.18^r
þat þei han put down. And so, if y durst seie, y kan not now
se þat ne sepulcris ne abbeis *profiten* now to deed patrouns.
15 But whanne al is lokid aboute, þe best of al were þat pure
ordenaunce of *Crist* were mayntened *in* his Chirche, *and* þane
shulden many officeris be put fro *Cristis* Chirche as an
ydel couent of Antecristis clerkis.

T: 1 her] þer HY 2 her] þer HY 3 fordo] for to do H, her] þer HY
5 her] þer HY 10 azens oure] azen þis Y, 3yue] 3eueþ men Y
11 practise] praktik Y, shulden] schullen H 12 her] þer Y 13 doun]
adowne H 13 now] om. H 14 þæt ne] wett þæt H, þæt Y, now] om. HY
15 were] weir Y 17 Cristis] oure HY, as] and H

B

Be secunde *commaundement* of seuene of þe secunde table
byddeþ þe schortly nouȝt slee þy broþer and it vnderstondeþ
vnskylful sleynge. And herefore men seyeþ þat men þat beþ
ykyllid by mannes lawe beþ nouȝt slawe of men bot þe lawe
5 sleþ hem *and* here yuele dedes. Bot what seþ a grete clerke?

T

[Capitulum Quartum] Be Fyfth Comaundment

The secound maundment of seuene of þe secound table
biddiþ þee shortly *not sle þi broþer, and* it vnderstondiþ
vnkilful sleynge. And herfor men seien þat men þat ben slayn
5 bi mames lawe ben not sleyn of men but þe lawe sleep hem
and her yuel dedis. But wolde God þat þe puple wolde worshiþe
Goddis lawe *and* seie þat it were ful soþ *and* iust in hymself
as þei supposen of mames lawe. Wiþouten ony dout, þame
shulden þei not be contrarie to *Crist*: whame he seiþ þat
10 þis breed is myn owne body þei reuersen him *and* seien þat
þis may neþer be breed ne þe body of Crist, as false
freris gabben.

But leue we þis now *and* speke we of þis maundement,

T: 1 Capitulum Quartum] *om.* HT, Be Fyfth Comaundment] *om.* HY
2 maundment] commaundement H 4 slayn] killid HY 5 lawe¹] lawis Y
6 her] þer HY 8 supposen] say H 11 neþer] neuere Y, þe] *om.* HY
13 speke we] speke H

B

Suppose we, he seȝþ, by oure feyþ, þat God byddeþ þus: þat we
scholde kille no man wiþoute auctorite of him. *And* so [may] men
kille bestes *and* wykkede men boþe, by auctorite of lawe, *and* elles
no wyse. Resoun dryueþ men to holde þis *commaundement*: syþ
5 eche man of þis worlde is broþer to oþer *and* eke neyzebore to
oþer by ordynauⁿce of God, who scholde þanne oþer wyse
vnkyndelyche kille his broþer? For as we beþ alle þe children
of Adam oure fa/der, so we beþ alle þe children of God, *and* alle f.96^v
þat schal be saued haþ Holy Church here moder. *And* so, as me

T

and suppose we bi oure feiþ þat God biddiþ þus: þat we shulden
sle no man wiþoute autorite of him. *And* so may men kille
beestis *and* wikid men boþe, bi autorite of lawe, *and* ellis no
wise. Resoun dryueþ men to holde þis comaundment: siþ
5 eche man of þe world is broþer to oþer *and* eche neizbore to
oþer bi þe ordenauⁿce of God, who shulde þanne oþer wise
vnkyndly sle his broþer? For as we ben alle children of
Adam oure fader, so we ben alle children of God, *and* alle
þat shal be sauȝd han Hooli Chirche her moder. *And* so, as

B: 2 may] many

T: 2 sle] kille HY 4 Resoun] reste Y 5 þe] þis HY,

and eche] *and* eke HY 6 þe] om. HY 7 sle] kille HY

9 her] þer HY

B

þenkeþ, no man scholde kille oþer by auctorite of þe lawe bot
yf he were sykere þat Godes lawe bad it; *and* þanne myzte he
ywyte þat he brake nouzt Godes heste al yf he kyllede him ne
fel nouzt fro charite, syþ boþe loue *and* sorwe scholde meue hem
5 to do so *and* nouzt his owene vengeaunce. *And* þus, as me þenkeþ, a
man may kille anoþer as men clepeþ hangemen *and* hederys of
mannes lawe. *And* þus Godes lawe spekeþ, *wham* we scholde lyue.

T

me þinkip, no man shulde sle oþer bi autorite of þe lawe
but if he were siker þat Goddis lawe bad it; *and* þanne myzte
he wite þat he brak not Goddis heest al if he slou3 him ne fel
not fro charite, siþ boþe loue *and* sorowe shulde mo{e}ue him
5 to do so *and* not his owne veniaunce. *And* þus, as me þinkip, a
man may kille anoþer, as men clepen hangmen *and* hederis /in f.18^v
marnes lawe. *And* þus Goddis lawe spekip whiche we shulden
trowe.

And þus men supposen þat bi londis lawe is no man
10 sleyn but if God bidde it, for þei supposen þat þis is
Goddis lawe. But it is wonder to men hou in mony londis

T: 1 sle] kille HY 2 he] we H 3 he wite] we witte H, heest]
hestis H, slou3] kille H, killide Y 4 not] nozt H, moeue]
corr.int. T 6 clepen] clepip H 7 whiche] whom HY 10 sleyn]
killide HY

B

For of þis lawe we beþ certeyne þat it byddeþ nouȝt kyllle a man
bot yf it be resoun *and* graciously *and* profetable yf {he} takeþ
{it} wel, so þat it were betere him to be kyllled so þan for to
lyue forþe vnpunesched for his trespasse. *And* so yf eny
5 trespasser aȝene mannes lawe taketh his deþ in charite it
ys medful for him. Bot muche more peyne deserueþ man for
synne. Bot I can nouȝt see þat eny man scholde putte þis
peyne on a man wiþoute auctorite of God.

T

men ben sleyn for a trespass, *and* for a myche more þei ben not
punyshid so, but oþer passen fre or ben listl[ier] punyshid: bi
money as men vsen. But we ben not sett to riȝt sicke lawes.
But of Goddis lawe ben we ful certeyn þat it biddiþ not sle
5 a man but if it be resoun *and* gracious *and* profitable if he
take it wel, so þat him were betere þus to be sleyn þan
to lyue forþ vnpunished for his trespass. *And* so if [ony]
trespasser aȝens mannes lawe takiþ his deþ in charite it
is me[d]ful for him. But myche more peyne deserueþ man
10 for synne. But y kan not se þat ony man shulde putte þis
peyne on men wiþoute autorite of God.

B: 2 he] *corr.mar.* 3 it] *corr.int.*

T: 1 sleyn] killid HY 2 oþer] ouþer H, euer Y, listlier] listly T
3 not] noȝt H 4 sle] kille HY 6 take] takiþ Y, him
were betere þus to be sleyn] it were betere him to be kilde so HY
7 to] for to HY, ony] a HTY 8 aȝens] aȝen Y, takiþ] take H
9 medful] meful T 10 not] noȝt H 11 men] man HY

B

Bot wete we wel þis *commaundement* is syb to many synnes.

For Seynt Jon seȝþ þat ech man þat hateþ his broþer is a
mansleer, 3e, ofte tymes more to blame þan he þat sleep his
body for þe synne is more. *And* by þis skyle a bacbyter is a
5 mansleer, and he that scholde 3eue gostlych fode *and* feyleþ
þerynne; *and* so eche man þat synneþ in eny dedly synne synneþ
aʒenst þis *commaundement*, as it is of oþer. For whosoevere
consenteþ to sleynge synneþ aʒenst þis *commaundement* and is
a mansleer. Bot, as clerkes seȝþ, vpon syxe maneres ys þis

T

{ *Capitulum Quintum* }

But wite wel þis *maundement* is sib to many symes. For
Seynt Jon seiþ þat eche þat hatip his broþer is a mansleer,
3he, ofte tymes more to blame þan he þat sleep his body,
5 for þe synne is more. And bi þis skile a bacbiter is
a mansleer, *and* he þat shulde 3yue goostli fode *and* failip
þerynne; *and* so eche man þat synneþ [in ony heed synne] synneþ
aʒen þis *maundement*, as it is of oþer. For whoeuer consenteþ to
siche mansleyng synneþ aʒens þis *maundement* *and* is a mansleer.
10 But, as clerkis seien, vpon sixe maneres is *consent* don,

T: 1 *Capitulum Quintum*] *mar.* T, *om.* H 2 þis] þat þis H 3 eche] he H
6 he] *om.* H 7 in ony heed synne] *om.* T, *in* ony hedli syme Y
9 aʒens] aʒein HY 10 *consent*] þis *consent* HY

B

consentyng do, *and* men scholde knowe it: he consentep to þe
yuel þat worchep wip þerto; he þat defendep *and* conseyleþ þerto;
he by whos auctorite ys þe yuel ydoo; he þat wiþdrawep his
helpe or scharp repreuyng whan /he myzte do it *and* scholde by f.97^r

- 5 Godes lawe. *And* among alle synnes by whiche þe fend begyleþ men
non ys more sutyl þan suche consente. *And* herefore þe prophetes
of þe Olde Lawe tolde men pereles tyl þay suffrede dep *and* in þis
cause þe apostoles of Crist were martyred; *and* we scholde yf we
were trewe men, bot cowardyse *and* defaute of loue of oure God

T

and men shulden wel know it: he consentip to yuel þat worchip
wip þerto; he þat defendip it *and* conseilip þerto; he bi whos
autorite is þe yuel don; he þat wiþdrawep his help or
sharp reprouyng whame he myzte do it *and* shulde bi Goddis

- 5 lawe. *And* among alle synnes bi whiche þe fend bigil[ip] men,
noon is more sutel þan siche concense. *And* herfore þe prophetis
of þe Olde Lawe telden men perels til þei suffriden deep
and for þis cause apostolis of Crist weren martrid; *and* we
shulden /if we weren trewe men, but cowardise *and* default of f.19^r

T: 1 to] to þe HY, (*mar: nota bene* Y) 2 *and]* *and* þat Y

3 his] *om.* Y 5 bigilip] bigilide T 6 concense]

consente Y 8 for] *in* HY, apostolis] þe apostelis HY

B

makeþ ous sterte abak as traytours doo.

- And* so yf þe grounde were sowt in remes þer were
fewe prestes oþer seculeres þat ne were mansleeres vpon som
maneres, *and* specialy prelatz þat sleep here broþer in many
5 weyes. For þey scholde præche hem *and* teche hem Godes lawe,
and by neglygence of hem þey beþ gostlyche sleye. *And* þes
scholde stonde as postes aʒenst tyrauntes *and* telle hem how by
Godes lawe þey scholde lede þe peple; *and* þis is a pryuy synne
þat prelates reccheþ nouȝt, and herby þay sleep ofte boþe
10 lordes *and* communes *and* brekeþ þis commaundement.

T

loue of oure God makip vs to sterte abak as traitours don.

- And* so if þe ground were souȝt in oure reumes þer
weren lite prestis or seculers oþer þat ne þei weren
mansleers vpon sum maner, *and* specialy prelatis þat sleen
5 her breþeren many weies. For þei shulden præche hem *and* teche
hem Goddis lawe, *and* bi negligence of hem ben þei goostly sleyn.
And þes shulde stonde as postis aʒens [tirauntis] *and* telle
hem bi Goddis lawe þei shulden lede þe puple; and þis is a
priuey synne þat prelatis recchen not, *and* herbi þei sleen
10 ofte boþe lordis *and* comyns.

T: 1 God] Lorde H, to] *om.* HY 2 reumes] rewme Y 3 lite] feu HY
oþer] ouþer H 5 her] þair HY, weies] wises H, *and*] *om.* Y 6 hem Goddis]
þem Goddes H 7 aʒens] aʒenst Y, tirauntis] traitours T
8 bi] hou bi H, þei] hou þei Y 9 not] not of Y 10 lordis] þe lordis Y

T

And what trowe we of þes *prelatiſ* þat sillen *mernes synne*
and ȝyuen hem leue to laste þerynne for *amuel* rent? And
parsones þat leeuē to *trauel in* her office bi power
of lordis *and ȝyuyng* of money ben suffrid to lyue wipoute
5 p[r]echyng of *prelatiſ*. And so *prelatiſ* ben ofte tyme
irreguler for þe multitude of soulis þat þei sleen þus,
and þis irregularite is more for to drede þan irregularite
chargid of þe world. For ofte tyme it falliþ þat bi a
medeful dede *men* ben maad irreguler bi iugement of þe
10 world, but bi þis irregularite *ben prelatiſ dampned*.

{ *Capitulum Sextum* }

And vpon siche *maner* ben many freris mansleers, as
speciali we may se on þes þre *maneres*: first þei *haten* her
briþeren as mansleers don, for ellis þei wolden not þus picke
15 lie on *hem*, for siche lesyngis comen not but if hate wente
bifore. Ant siþ Seynt Jon seiþ þat *whoeuer* hate his

T: 2 *amuel* rent] an yuel tente Y 3 her] þer HY 4 ben] but Y,
lyue] lif þus HY 5 prechyng] pechyng T, ofte tyme] often H
6 sleen] killen HY 7 þis] þis is Y 8 tyme] times Y 10 bi þis
irregularite] if it be doon in charite ellis Y 11 *Capitulum Sextum*]
mar. T, *om.* H 12 *maner*] *maners* HY, as] and H 13 we] as we Y,
on] of HY, þei] þes Y, her] þer Y 14 þei wolden] *trs.* HY
15 wente] go HY 16 siþ] *om.* Y, hate] hateþ HY

T

- broþer he is a mansleer, how many freris ben siche! Þe
secound degree of mansleyng stondiþ *in* wille of freris,
for þei han ofte tyme wille to sle her briþeren bodily.
Leeue we sleyng of her owne briþeren *in* her prisoun, *and* speke
5 of her wickid wille þat was now late shewed at Londoun *and*
Lyncolun to breme trewe prestis for þes prestis grauntiden
þe treuþe of þe Gospel. *And* siþ þis wickid wille cam bi alle
þes foure ordris it /is licly þat þei ben alle mansleers. f.19^v
Ne mansleyng is neuer þe lesse þat God moeuyde lordis to
10 lette þe wille of þes freris þat þei slown hem not. For
whame God haþ an erbere of erbis *and* seedis to heele many
cuntreis of many sikenessis it were a greet synne to
kitte þes seedis *and* vndermyne þes erbis bifore tyme were; and
herfore we supposen þat God himsilf ordeynede þes erbis
15 to laste til þei hadden more profited. Þe þridde maner of
sleyng, to general *in* freris, stondiþ *in* here prechyng,
comounly venemed. For [if] þei flateren *and* fagen, boþe prechyng *and*

T: 1 he] *om.* H 3 ofte tyme] *often* tymes H, her] þer HY 4 her
owne] þer ouen HY, in her] *in* þair HY, speke] speke we HY 5 her]
þair HY, *and*] at Y 9 moeuyde] mouep H 10 not] noȝt H 11 *and*]
of H 12 a] *om.* H 15-16 maner of sleyng] mansleing HY 16 general]
generalli Y, here] þeir HY 17 if] *om.* T

T

shryuyng, *in* pont of memes soules helpe, what venym is worse? For þis wise may *Antecrist* moost venyme memes soulis *and* sende *hem* to Sathanas, fadir of siche freris.

- Sum men seien þat freris forsaken for to preche þe Gospel
5 of *Crist* for þes two causis: oon, *in* al þe Gospel freris may not grounde her ordris, ne hou þei camen yn bi callyng of *Crist*; and certis, if [it be] so, þei *ben* alle þeues.
þe secound cause is þat malice of þe puple likiþ more *in* iapyng þan *in* wordis of þe feiþ, and freris seken more
10 memes good þan hemsilf, *and* herfore þei casten *hem in* word to plesse þe puple. *And* siþ ordris þat *Crist* made *ben* þus gon abac, what wondre if freris faile *in* short tyme, siþ þei kan not grounde hou *Crist* brouzt *hem* ynne? Summe disseyuen þe puple bi her ypocrisie, *and* summe may be goode men,
15 bileeuyng of her falshed *and* suyng of Goddis lawe, her owne iapis left. *And* God for hise grace graunte it so be, for moost perel of mamsleyng stondiþ *in* false freris.

T: 1 soules] soule HY, helpe] hele HY 2 may] man Y 3 hem] him H
4 for to] to HY 6 her] þer HY, callyng] cleping HY 7 it be] þei
ben T 9 þan] þæt H, in] om. HY, more] om. Y 10 good] godes HY,
hem] þem H 12 if] is þous H 13 not] noȝt H 14 her] þair HY
15 of her] of þair HY, her owne] þer oune H 16 so be] to be so H, trs. Y

B

- Alle þes seuene *commaundementz* of þe secunde table
techeþ a man how he schal haue him anemtys his euene Cristene,
boþe to his frende *and* to his enemy, bot þer is noþyng more
contrarious to þis þan is wrongful manslawte. Þerfore euery
5 man skillefullyche *and* kyndelyche scholde fle *and* enchewe suche
manslawt. For as seyþ þe wyse man in his boke, 'Eueryche best
loueþ þat best þat is lyche to him.' Muche more, by weye of
kynde, scholde man þat is resonable in alle þynges: he scholde
do none manslawt. *And* þis we scholde knowe by pure resoun.
10 For resoun wolde, syþ alle onlyche God ȝeueþ *and* putteþ in lyf
into þe body whan him lykeþ, so to him alone it longeþ to
take þe soule out of þat body whan him lykeþ. For þou wost
neuere whanne it is goeð to þy soule to be take oute, whan
to abyde; whan it is ordeyned to ioie, whan to peyne; for it
15 is longynge /to God to knowe þat knoweþ alle þyng *and* nouȝt to f.97^v
þe. Wherefore to him alone it longeþ to ȝyue lyf *and* to sle
whan it best lykeþ. And in tokene of þat þis synne ys so
orryble *and* vnkyndely, þis [is] on of þe synnes þat in Holy
Wryt cryeþ to God vengeance, as wytnesseþ God himself in þe
20 fyrste boke of Holy Wryt. 'Lo,' seyþ God to Caym, 'þe voys of
þe blod of þy broþer cryeþ to me from þe erþe.'

For þis *commaundement*, ȝe schulle vnderstonde þat þer is
þre maner of manslawt, þat is to seye boþe of honde *and* of tunge *and*

B

of herte or of wyl. Þa[t] man sleep a man with his honde þat
smyteþ his broþer in violence, whereþurgh his bodyly
strengþes beþ enfybled *and* his lyf yschorted, oþer wrongfullyche
wiþdraweþ his bodylyche sustynauce. And he sleep a man wiþ
5 his tunge þat conseyleþ or procureþ his deþ or falslyche
lyeþ on him wherfore his *profyt* is lette or abrechted. Also
he sleep a man wiþ his tunge þat for hate, enuye or mede
bryngeþ a goed man or a womman out of here goede name or
fame, wiþ fals sclandrynge of here tunge. *And* alle suche, in as
10 muche as in him is, byfore God þey sleep hem. He sleep a man
in herte *and* wyl þat wylneþ or desyreþ mannes deþ for eny
worldlyche goed, or eny worldlyche cause or trespas ydo to
his persone, or hateþ him in herte. For Seynt Jon seyb, 'He
þat hateþ his broþer is a mansleer.' *And* þus whan a man oþer
15 womman bereþ enuye or haterede in herte to here euene Cristene,
willynge wrongfullyche or enuyouslyche þat myschyf or
vengeaunce falle vpon hem, *and* þerto curseþ in herte *and* in mouþ,
he is a mansleer; *and* alle suche, in þat þat in hem ys, þay doþ
perylous manslaughter, for þey sleep here owene soule and also
20 here euene Cristene. *And* þerfore God byddeþ þat þou schalt noþer
wiþ honde, ne wiþ tunge, ne wiþ herte do no manslaughter.

B: 1 Þat] Þan, his] his/his

B

/þe þrydde commaundement of God in þis secunde table f.98r
forfendeþ men *and* wommen to synne in eny manere of lecherye.
And þis commaundement of God seweþ wel þat oper goynge next
byfore, þe whyche forfendeþ to sle man in his persone, and þis
5 forfendeþ to sle man in his felawe. For, as þe Gospel techeth,
man *and* womman wedded beþ on persone by þe lawe of God. *And*
þerfore þes lechours þat fouleþ on of þes sleep in a maner
þe felawe of it. And as we seyde of mansleyng, so it ys of
lecherye: som is bodylyche *and* oper is gostlyche. Bodyliche

T

Capitulum Septimum

The þridde maundement of God of þis secound table
forfendiþ men to synne in ony maner leccherie. And þis
maundment of God sueþ wel þe toþer, for þe next forfendiþ
5 to sle man in his persone, *and* þis forfendiþ to sle man in
his felowe. For, as þe Gospel techiþ, man *and* womman /weddid f.20r
ben oo persone bi þe lawe of God. And herfor þis lecchour
þat foulþ oon of þes sleep in a maner þe felowe of it. And
[as] we seiden of mansleyng, so it is of leccherie: *sum* is bodily

T: 1 *Capitulum Septimum*] om. H 2 *The*] þe þride hest of þe secunde table. The H,
of þis] in þis HY 3 *in ony maner leccherie*] in lecherie any maner H
5 his] om. Y 7 oo] on H 8 foulþ] filiþ Y, a] om. Y 9 as] om. T,
seiden] seyn H, is of] is H

B

lecherye is in many maneres. Somtyme vnwedded man foulep
vnwedded womman *and* þis is cleped *communlyche* symple
fornycacioun.

T

and sum is goostly. Bodili leccherie is *in* many maner.

Sumtyme vnweddid man foulip vnweddid womman, *and* þis [is] clepid
comounly *simple* fornicacioun. If þat oo part be weddid,

or ellis boþe {t}wo, þame þat is auoutrie, as comoun speche

5 techip. Oþere parties of þis synne is tauzt in oþere places,

(for þes partis sufficen now) wiþ techyng of her membris.

Goostly leccherie is whanne a man forsakip þe loue of his

God for loue of a creature, *and* þis is a leccherie moost

for to charge, for no leccherie is synne but if þis be þere.

10 And siþe eche mames soule shulde be *Cristis* spouse, what

lecchour þat synnep þus he synnep *in* avoutrie, for he brekip

þe maryage þat shulde be bitwene *Crist and him* þat þus synnep,

as myche as *in him* is.

T: 1 sum] oþer HY, in] on H, maner] maners HY 2 is] om. T

3 þat oo] þe to H, þe toon Y 4 two] corr.int. T, þat] it HY

5 is] ben HY 6 her] oþer Y 8 a leccherie] lecherie HY

12 bitwene] bitwixe Y 13 in him is] is in him Y

B

And þis word 'lecherye', enemy contrarye to þe vertue of
contynence *and* of chastyte, is a brennyng appetyte, oþer a
coueytyse, of a lecherouse wyl, hyyng fulfille þe lecherous
delectacioun of consentynge of resoun. For whenne þat resoun
5 wip þe whiche eueryche Cristene man *and* womman scholde gouerne
hemsself wipstondeþ noust þylke lecherous appetit bot zeueþ
ful consent to do þulke synneful dede, anon he synweþ dedlyche
þey he be let fro þe dede doynge. For in þrefold manere a
man or womman may synwy dedlyche on lecherye. Furst on herte
10 wendynge *and* turnynge wytynglyche *and* wylfullyche [to] vnclene
and wykkede lecherous poustes bycause of schrewed delectacioun
in pouste. For þe wyse man seyþ in his boke þat wykked
poustes departeþ a man fro God. Also Crist himself in þe
Gospel seyþ, 'He þat seep a womman in suche entente to coueyty
15 to trespasse wip hure anon,' he seyþ, 'þat man haþ ydo lecherye wip
hure on herte.' (*And* þis same resoun may be vnderstonde of wommen).

T

And wille stondiþ for dede comounly *in* sicke synnes and
herfor seiþ Crist *in* þe Gospel of Matheu, 'He þat seep a
womman for to coueite hir haþ don lecherie wip hir now
in his herte.'

B: 10 to] *om.*

T: 1 comounly *in* sicke synnes] in such synnes comynli Y 2 þe] *om.* H

3 haþ] haþ now Y, now] *om.* Y

B

- Be secunde manere ys whenne /man oper womman delyteþ f.98^v
himself in lecherous dedes, as in kyssynge *and* grypynge,
byholdynge [and] spekyng, *and* in takynge hede to wyckede *and*
vnclene speches, *and* in oper vnlawesom touchynges onlyche, by
5 schrewede delectacioun, *and* in oper dyuerse lecherous fykelynges
and ragynges, into fulfyllynge of his wyckede desyres.
And þis is more grettere synne þan þe fyrste maner bycause of
his felawe *and* of more delectacioun þat ofte tymes he takeþ by
suche vnlawesom feylynge of his membres *and* lymes.
- 10 Be prydde manere is whenne an vnwedded man *and* vnwedded
womman trespassen in dede doynge. *And* þis is so gret synne þat
pough þey trespassed neuere þeron bot ones, bot yf þey hadde
ones grace to amende hem here, þey scholde be excluded of þe
kyngdom of heuene euere wipoute ende, as wytnesseþ wel Seynt
15 Poule in his epistle wher he seyth þus: 'Noþer lecheours noþer
spousebrekeres schal haue þe kyngdom of heuene' (þat is to mene,
bot þey amende hem here). *And* in þis worde þat God byddeþ ous
do no lecherye, he commaundeþ þat noþer wedded noþer sengul
man or womman scholde do eny maner lecherye. For no doute it
20 is foul, dedly *and* dampnable in alle maneres forseyde, *and* it is
moche more greuouse synne bytwene a wedded man or womman for

B: 3 and] in 4 vnlawesom] speches *canc.*

B

þe cursed brekyng of þe heyze sacrament of wedlok. Bot yf
prestes þat scholde lyue as angeles synweþ in lecherye þey
beþ spousebrekeres brekyng þe vowe of chastite, *and* þenne þer
is sorwe vpon sorwe, for þey scholde be a myrour to þe peple
5 of alle clenness.

Here þou schalt vnderstonde þat in þis general worde, 'þou
schal do no lecherye', God forbedeþ al maner vnlaweful ly[k]yng
and touchyng of mannes preuy membres or wommannes, and also al
maner gostlyche lecherye *and* bodylyche in wyl, or word, or dede.

10 And þerfore kepe clene þyn herte from /assentyng to lecherye, f.99^r
þy moup from lecherous kyssyng or spekyng, *and* þy membres from
alle lecherous dedys doynge. For wyte we wel þat lecherye is
harde for to [v]encusse in men þat beþ stronge in here kynde, for
kynde meueþ to þat dede bot nouzt to þat synne. *And* herfore seþ
15 a clerke in þis wyse, þat specialyche in þis synne mot a man beo

T

But wite we þat leccherie is hard for to vencushe
in men þat ben stronge in her kynde, for kynde moeueþ to
þe dede *and* not to þe synne. And herfor seiþ a clerk on
þis wise, þat specialy in þis synne mot a man be coward

B: 7 lykyng] lyuyng 13 vencusse] encusse

T: 2 her] þer Y, for kynde] for kynre Y 3 *and* not] bot not HY

B

coward *and* flee f[er] occasioun þat meueþ to þis synne. *And* triste
nouȝt to strengþe, ne [holynesse], ne wysdome. For what man was euere
strengere þan Sampson? Who of ous alle was holier þan
Dauid? Who was more wysere þan Salomon his sone? *And* alle þes
5 þre were brend wyþ þe fyre of lust of þis synne. *And* so yf þou
wolt be Cristes clene childe flee as Cristes coward þe
companye of folyes wommen, ne be þou nouȝt to famylyer wiþ
non maner wommen.

þe secunde medycyne aȝenst þis synne were to kepe þy
10 body fro lusty fode, for flesch þat ys yuele yfed synwep

T

and [fle] f[e]r occasioun þat moeueþ to þis synne. *And* trist
not to strengþe, ne [hoolynesse], ne wisdom. For what man was euer
strenger þan Sampson? Who of vs alle was [hoolier] þan Dauid?
Who was more witti þan Salamon his sone? *And* alle þes þre weren
5 brent wiþ þe fier of lust. *And* so, if þou wolt be Goddis
clene child, fle as Cristis coward cumpenye of wymmen.

þe secound medycyne þat helpiþ aȝens þis synne were
to kepe þi body fro lustful fode, for fleish þat is yuel fed

B: 1 fer] fro 2 holynesse] wytt 9 were to] man *and* womman bysye hemself *canc.*

T: 1 fle fer] for T, trist] striste Y 2 strengþe] strenȝ H,

hoolynesse] witte HTY 3 hoolier] wysere HTY 6 coward] cowardis Y

7 aȝens] aȝen Y, þis] om. Y 8 lustful] lustlye H, lusti Y

B

nouȝt þus *communelyche*.

þe þrydde medycyne aȝenst þis synne were to man *and*
womman bysye hemself in clene occupacioun, for suche lust
comeþ nouȝt bot yf þouȝt go before. *And* herefore occupye þy
5 þouȝt *and* þy body in clene occupaciouns *and* so flee þis synne.

Syþþe adultery is gretter synne þan symple fornyacioun
for it is a distruyng *and* a brekyng of þe holy sacrament of
wedloke þat God made in Paradyse at bygynnyng of þe worlde
ar eny synne was ydo, þerfore eche Cristene man *and* womman
10 scholde be sore adradde to breke it or mysyse it or turne
it into eny synne, for þe same Lorde þat made it wole haue
a rekenyng þerof. Take hede how gretlyche God hateþ þis
synne. Holy Wryt wytnesseþ þat God spake to Dauyd by þe
prophete Nathan *and* seyde þus: 'For þou hast ydo auoutry wiþ

T

synneþ þus not comounly.

þe þrid medicyne aȝens þis synne were a man to occupie
/hym in clene occupacioun, for sicke lust comeþ not but if f.20^v
þouȝt go bifore. *And* herfor occupie þi þouȝt *and* þi body
5 in clene occupaciouns, *and* so fle þis synne.

B: 9 þerfore] *and* þerfore

T: 1 þus not] *trs.* HY 2 aȝens] aȝen Y, occupie] bisi HY

B

Vrye is wyf, /þe swerde of vengeaunce schal neuere go fram þyn f.99^v
hous *and* I schal make þe enemyes of þyn owen body.' *And* al þis
he fonde soþe. For he was afterward euermore in anguyssch *and*
myschef; and Absolon, his owen sone, drof him out of his lond,
5 *and*, ouer þis, God sende into Dauydys londe a gret pestylence,
and slowe seuenty þousand folke of þe peple in þre dayes.

Also þer beþ foure peynes þat euerych man *and* womman
þat brekep þis holy sacrament of wedloke by adultery schal
suffre on þerof in þis worlde or he daye, ouer alle oper
10 peynes. Oper he schal be pore *and* yput adoun in þis worlde; or
elles he schal deye sodeynlyche; or elles, by som hurte, he
schal lose on of his lymes; oper he schal be ysclaundred *and*
be yprysoned þerfore. Also it is grettere synne to byneme a
mayde here maydenhod, oper defouly a clene wydue oper eny
15 womman þat ys of lynage to þe trespasser, by kynreden or
affynyte oper gosseprede oper elles by oper frendeschep of
benefytz *and* kendenesse, þan symple fornyacioun by an vnclene
stronge womman, þough it be a gret dedly synne in þre
maneres, as it is foreseyde. *And* alle þes maneres of synnes beþ
20 forfended of God in þis þrydde commaundement of þe secunde
table, where þat he seyth, 'Þou schalt do no lecherye' (þat is to
mene noþer bodylyche noþer gostlyche; and of gostlyche lecherye
I tolde byfore in þe fyrst commaundement, wel toward þe ende).

T

Capitulum Octavum

Sip eche hedly synne makip men gilty azens þis
maundement *and* Crist þat we shulden spouse, general speche
of synne may be touchid here. *And* it helpip to þenke on
5 þis: hou good *Crist* is, *and* hou clene *and* profitable were it to
be weddid wip him, and hou seyntis in heuene ben alle
virgyns. Alle seyntis in heuene *and* Hooli Chirche ben *virgyns*
in a maner, as *Crist* is *virgyn*; *and* so *Crist* ordeynede him to
be born of a *virgyn* *and* alle hise seyntis in bliss kepen
10 *virgynite*. And so *virgynite* is betere þan wedlok, for
wedlok here in eerpe lastip but a while *and* berip heggyng of
symne, as doip not *virgynite*. *And* þis shulde moeue a man
led bi resoun for to loue castite, sip God louep it, and þe
eende of getyng of children in þis lijf lastip but a while
15 *and* eendip in chastite. And shame we of þes resouns þat þes
lecchours maken, þat God worchip wip hem to brynge for[þe] men,
ne þe Chirche myzte not be wipoute her werkis. Soop it is

T: 1 *Capitulum Octavum*] om. H 2 azens] azen Y 4 of] of eche TY,
to] om. Y 5 were it] *trs.* H 6 alle] om. H 7 Hooli] alle Holi HY
9 hise] om. Y 13 castite] chastite HY 14 in þis lijf lastip but a
while] lastip bot a while in þis life H 15 þes resouns] þis reson H 16 forþe]
for T

T

þat þe Chirche stondit wipoute *hem*, siþ *many ben in*
chastite *and in* spoused [begetun]. And þat God worchip wip
hem preise God of his *grace*, *and* blame her vnkyndnesse þat
þei *don* to God, ne preise *hem* not herfore, for God worchip
5 wip fendis. And so shulden we þenke hou synne displesip
God, for noþing displesip God but synne or bi synne siþ
fendis *and* wickid *men* may not displese God but bi her
synne, as trewe *men* knowen wel; ne no *man* may departe fro
God but he bicom *seruant* to synne. And so al oonly synne
10 may not *serue* God, for God may not make synne to be his
creature. Synful *creaturis*, as fendis *and* wickid *men*, moten
serue God bi kynde þat he 3yueþ hem, or doying þat he
biddip *hem*, or suffryng þat he shapip hem; /but sit God hap f.21^r
ordeyned lawes of synne, as he may not leeue punyshyng
15 þerof. And so, al if synne was cause of *Cristis* passioun,
[nepeles] his mercy was real cause þerof. Many siche
treuþis shulde make *men* to hate synne *and* loue oure good

T: 2 begetun] ben getun T 3 God] him H, her] þer H 4 herfore]
þerfore H 5 displesip] despiseþ H 6 noþing displesip] þer doþ noþing
desplese H, God] him HY 7 her] þer H 9 but] but 3if HY
11 wickid] sinful H 13 þat] þat þæt T (second of these marked for omission)
15 was] wer H 16 nepeles] neuþes T 17 to] om. H, good] Lord Y

B

þe ferþe commaundement of þe secunde table sueþ in
þis ordre *and* in þes wordes: 'Þou schalt do no þefþe.' Þat ys
to seye, þou schalt kepe þe fro þefþe, syþþe þy God is trewe,
and so þou scholdest nouzt noye þy broþer, noþer in his body,
5 ne in his felawe (þat is his spouse), ne in his worldlyche
goedes. Bot here we schulle vnderstonde what þyng is þefþe.
þefþe ys ta/kyng of goede wiþoute leue of þe lord. f.100^r

T

God bi fleyng þerfro, for he is þe best spouse þat any
man may haue, ne no man may proprely bi weddid wiþ him
but if he kepe him euermore fro synne wiþouten eende.

{*Capitulum Nonum*} þe Seuent Comaundment

5 The fourþe comaundment of þe secound table sueþ in þis
ordre *and* in þes wordis: *Þou shalt do no þeft*. Þat is to seie
þat þou shalt kepe þee fro þeft, siþ þi God is trewe, and so
þow shuldust not noye þi broþer neþer in his bodi, neþer in his
felowe (þat is his spouse), ne in hise worldli goodis. But
10 here shulden we wite what þing is þeft. Þeft is takyn[g] of
goodis wiþoute leue of þe lord. But wite we wel þat God

T: 4 *Capitulum Nonum*] *mar.* T, *om.* HY, þe Seuent Comaundement] þe
iiij heste of þe ij table H, iiij comaundment of þe ij table Y 5 comaundment]
maundement Y 6 *shalt*] schalt not Y 7 *þat*] *om.* HY, is] is is H,
trewe] treuþe HY 8 bodi neþer] body ne HY 10 we] {we} *corr.int.* H
takyn] takyn T 11 we] *om.* Y, wel] *om.* HY

T

is Lord of alle lordis, *and* so God is cheef Lord of euery
man. And so may a man *in* tyme of nede take of his
neizboris good, al if he grucche azen, for God þat is cheef
Lord 3yueþ him leue þerto. *And* so leue of þis Lord
5 sculdest þou algatis knowe and þerbi þeft *and* leueful vss
of ony kymes goodis. And so bileue techiþ vs þat whoso
haue leue of God, *and* al oonly sicke, haþ verrey possessioun.
And herfor was it seid comounly sumtyme þat al oonly he
þat stondiþ *in* grace is verrey lord of þingis and whoeuer
10 failiþ rist bi default of grace him failiþ ritwise title of
what þing þat he occupieþ. *And* cause of þis is for God þat
is cheef Lord approueþ not his hauyng, siþ it is vnskilful.
And herfor Crīst techiþ *in* his Gospel book þat of him
þat haþ not *and* haþ to memmes semyng shal it be takun to
15 hym þat haþ Goddis wille.

And here may we se hou many men ben þeues. For

T: 2 a] *om.* HY 4 leue] þe leue Y 7 haue] haþ Y 8 al] *om.* Y
10 him failiþ] hym lackiþ H 14 *and*] *and* / *and* T, to] bi HY

B

And þis takynge of godes may be do on meny maneres. On ys
in takynge þy neyzebores goedes fro him aʒenst his wylle,
oþer by pryuey stelynge, by nyzte or by daye, by londe or by
water, oþer by open robbynge; *and* þat is whenne men openlyche
5 takeþ menne godes aʒenst here wille, or wiþholdeþ wiþ maystry
þat hem falleþ to haue by ryzt, as men þat wiþholdeþ þe hyre
of trewe seruantes, and also þe seruants þat serueth nouzt
trewelyche here maystres or wastep here goedes aʒenst
þe worschep of God *and* profyt of here maystres: þer may nopyng
10 excuse hem þat þay ne doþe þefþe. And so no doute þat eche
man þat hap enyþyng wiþoute goede tytyle brekeþ þis
commaundement. And syþ no man hap ryzt to þyng bot he þat
serueþ trewelyche þe Lord of alle þynges, eche man scholde be
bysy to kepe þis byddyng.
15 þe secunde manere ys by reuyng þy neyzebore ys goede
wrongfullyche by false sleypes of mannes lawe, as by false
playntes, by false attachement3, or by eny oþer wrong manere.
And alle vniuste men þat occupyep Godes goedes doþ þefþe. *And*

T

alle þes vniust men þat han Goddis goodis [don þefþe]. An so

T: 1 Goddis] *om.* Y, don þefþe] *om.* HTY

B

- so lordes of {þe} worlde þat serueþ nouȝt God trewelyche steleþ
Godes goedes *and* occupyeþ Cristes goedes wiþoute his leue
þerto beþ boþe nyȝt þeues *and* day þeues also. *And* herefore seȝþ
Crist, herde of alle herdes, þat alle þat comeþ nouȝt {in} by
5 þis dore beþ stronge þeues in þes two maneres: þay beþ nyȝt
þeues þat derkeþ in synne, *and* by fals tytle þat þey fayneþ
on Crist þey spoyleþ þe peple þat beþ [sogest vnto] hem; *and* þes may
be nyȝt þeues for derkenesse of synne, for no synne ys more derke

T

- lordis of þis world, þat seruen God not treuly steilen Goddis
goodis, for þingis þat þei occupien þei han wiþoute his leue,
and þanne þese ben þeues. And so, more generally, prelatis of
þe Chirche /þat occupien Cristis goodis wiþoute his leue f.21^v
5 þerto ben boþe nyȝt þeues *and* day þeues also. And herfor s[e]lþ
Crist, herde of alle herdis, þat alle þei þat comen not yn bi
þis dore ben stronge þeues on þes two maneres: þei ben nyȝt
þeues þat darken *in* synne, *and* bi false title þat þei feynen
vpon Crist þei spuylen þe pepule suget vnto hem; *and* þes may
10 be nyȝt þeues for derknesse of synne, for no synne is more

B: 1 þe] *corr.int.* 4 in] *corr.int.* 7 sogest to] vnder

T: 1 God not] nouȝt God H, not God Y 2 his] his *canc.*T 3 þese] þai HY
5 seiþ] siþ T 6 herde] he hirde Y, þei] *om.* Y, yn] *om.* H 9 vpon]
on HY, vnto] to H 10 of] in Y, no synne] noþing H

B

þan lye þus on Criste *and* seye þat he was worldlyche lord, as
Antecryst feyneþ, syþ he clepeþ þe fende Prynce of þis worlde.

Day þeues þay beþ þat lorkeþ in wodes *and* more openlyche
spoyleþ trewe men. Seculer lordes beþ /trees of þis wode

f.100^v

- 5 vnder whos power þey lorkeþ *and* spoyleþ þe peple; *and* no þyng ys
more contrarye to Crist. Cryst ys þis dore by wham prestes
comeþ ynne, bot þes Antycristes clerkes brekeþ þe roof *and* comeþ
ynne aboue by pryde of þis worlde *and* Crist, þat may noust lye,
seyþ þat þes beþ þeues, for þey takeþ Cristes goedes wipoute

T

derk þan to lie þus on Crist *and* seie þat he was worldli lord,
as *Antecrist* feyneþ, siþ he clepiþ þe fend *Prince* of þis
world. Day þeues þei ben þat lorken in wodis *and* more openly
spuylen trewe men. Seculer lordis ben trees of þis wode vnder

- 5 whos power þei lurken *and* spuylen þe puple, *and* noon is more
contrarious to *Crist*. Crist is þis dore bi whom prestis
comen yn, but þes *Antecristis* clerkis breken þe roof *and* comen
yn aboue bi *pride* of þis world, *and* *Crist*, þat may not lye,
seiþ þes ben þeues, siþ þei taken *Cristis* goodis wipouten

B: 9 wipoute] leue *canc.*

T: 1 to] *om.* HY 2 feyneþ] feyned Y 4 Seculer] Þise secleere H,
þis wode] þise wodes H 5 noon] noþing HY 6 *contrarious*] *contrarie* HY,
þis] þe Y 7 þes] *om.* H þe] þis H 9 seiþ] seiþ þat HY

B

his leue.

þe þrydde manere of stelynge ys in þes boþe maneres, as
by maistryes *and* by sleype of mannes lawe. And generalyche in
þis commaundement God forbedeþ to his peple alle manere of
5 wrongful geetyng of worldlyche goodes, oþer by stelynge oþer by
false sleypes in byyng *and* syllyng, wytynglyche to bygyle þyn
euene Cristene in wyȝttes or measure, þan þou woldest skylfullyche
wylne þat þy neyȝebore dude to þe in þe same caas. For ȝe
schulleþ vnderstonde here þat it is lefful a man or womman þat
10 lyueþ by cheffare or merchaundyse to sylle dyrere þan he byeþ *and*
for to wyne by here merchaundyses. Bot vnderstondeþ wel alle þat
þey schulle nouȝt wyne, ne coueyte to wyne, also muche as þay
mowe gete wiþ eny sleȝþe or cautele, bot al onlyche to wyne
skylfullych *and* mesurablyche to susteyne hem resonablyche
15 in here trauaille. And in alle manere, for drede of
dampnacioun, beþ war in alle ȝoure byyng *and* syllyng of oþes
sweryng, for communelyche þat on is forswore in suche sweryng
or boþe. And þerfore, in worde *and* in dede, do no wrong ne þesþe.

T

his leue. But ȝit treuþe nedid hem to write in her lettris
þat bi suffryng of God þei ben siche maistris. Þe moost þeef
of alle þes, *and* moost Antecrist, is þe chefteyn of þes þat
ledid hem alle, for he steliþ] moost falsely moo goodis of Crist.

T: 2 bi] bi þe Y 3 moost] þe most H, þat] *and* HY

4 steliþ] steliy T

T

Capitulum Decimum

- Lord wheper it be Goddis lawe to sle men for þeft? And it
semep '3is'. For bi þe lawe of Englonde men ben hanged for
þeft for a litel þing. Also bi þe Popis lawe men ben ofte
5 brent for þei susteynen þe lawe þat Ihesu Crist 3af, as
who seip þat þe Pope shulde not þus be lord bi title of
Crist shal be brent anoon. And so it is of many poyntis
þat Goddis lawe witnessit. But þe Gospel of Crist contrarieþ
þis doying. For þe Gospelle of Luk tellip hou Crist cam þorou
10 Samarie vnto Ierusalem and þe puple wolde neþer herborowe him
ne fede him; and his disciplis axiden þat fier shulde come
from heuene and deuoure hem; but Crist seide, 'Nay,' and reprouid
his apostlis, and seide þei knewen not whos spirit þei weren,
/sip he himsilf cam not for to lese memes lyues but for to f.22^r
15 saue hem. But Antecrist hap ordeyned euen contrarie lawe
þat he may not grounde in þe lawe of God: þat who þat tellip him
his synne, hou he contrarieþ Crist, he settip him faste afyre

T: 1 *Capitulum Decimum*] om.H 2 (*mar: Capitulum Decimum* T)
4 for] of HY 4-5 ofte brent] *trs.* H 5 3af] made and 3af H
6 who] whoso HY 11 axiden] seyden Y 14 himsilf cam] *trs.* H
16 who þæt] whoso H

T

(for þat is sharpest deēþ) *and* seiþ he is an eretik contrarie
to his Chirche. But God wolde *men* wolde studie wel *Cristis*
lawe, and y am certeyn þei shulde not fynde þat þis were
leeueful to þe viker of *Crist*. But *Antecrist* doiþ þis bi
5 his worldly power *and* power of his fader. Wel y rede þat
blasfemes *in* þe Olde Lawe shulde be stoned to deēþ, for
þei *ben* moost eretikes. But *in* þe Newe Testament y trowe
þat *men* shulden caste stoones of þe Gospel, whiche is oure
bileue, *and* telle hem sharply hou þei shulden trowe; and if
10 þei wolen {not} assente forsake hem as heþen *men*.

As *anentis* þe lawe of Englund, it is seid bifore þat it
is not oure craft to iustifie it but iustifie Goddis lawe *and*
þat shulden alle *men* do. But oo þing y trowe: þat more default
is seyn *in* execucioun of þis lawe þan *in* þe lawe itsilf. For
15 it falliþ ofte tymes þat þeues *ben* more punyshid for her þeft
of God þan hangyng bi her nekke. And ofte tymes it may be þat
God wole þat þei be turned bi sorowe of herte *and* make good

T: 1 is¹] his Y, seiþ] seiþ þat Y 2 God wolde] *trs.* H, men] þat
tru men HY, wel] *om.* HY 4 to] of H, þe] *om.* HY 6 blasfemes]
blasfemeres H, blasfemyes Y, in þe Olde Lawe shulde be stoned to deēþ]
schulden be stoned to deþ in þe Old Lawe H 7 þe] *om.* H 8 is oure]
us must H 10 not] *corr.int.* T 11 As] *om.* HY 15 her] þer H
16 her] þair HY 17 þat] *om.* Y, herte] þair hert HY

T

for her syme.

- But here men replien for lawe of oure lond, *and* seien þe
rewme shulde not be kept *in* pees but if siche iewesse were
ordeyned for þeues. But here may men se bi þe lawe of God þat
5 greet cause of þeues *in* þe rewm[e] of Englonde is vneuen
departyng of temporal goodis. So if alle goodis þat oure
Chirche is dowid wiþ weren *in* seculer memmes hondis, as it
shulde be, þeues wolden be fewer, for þe nede were þe lesse.
But þe secound triacle aþens siche þeues were to preche
10 Goddis word, as þe apostlis diden; *and* þat wolde conuerte moo
þan hangyng or sleyng, as more þeues of þe Chirche ben suffrid
and mayntened *and* fewe men dar telle hem defaultis þat þei don.
But þe þridde medicyn, groundid *in* Cristis lawe, aþens alle
siche men þat don aþens God shulde be siche medicyn: bi
15 lawe of þe Gospel þei shulden be warned /þries, as Crist f.22^v
himsilf biddiþ; *and* at þe fourþ tyme þei shulden be exilid fro
trewe memmes cumpany as heþene or pubplicants; and, os Seynt

T: 1 her] þair HY 4 may men] trs. Y 5 rewme] rewmō T 8 þe nede]
here nede H, þe lesse] lesse HY 9 aþens] aþen Y 10 Goddis]
Cristis HY 12 defaultis] þe defaultis H 13 aþens] aþen Y 14 aþens]
aþen Y 15 lawe] þe lawe Y 17 heþene] heþen men Y

B

þe fyfþe commaundement of God in þe secunde table
forbedeþ alle men to speke false wytnesse aʒenst here
neyʒebore. And þis ys nedful to execute þe lawe, for Godes
lawe *and* mannes lawe axeþ wytnesse, *and* of suche wytnesse comeþ
5 iuggement of men, [and falshede of wytnesse makeþ false iuggement].
And so [errore in] wytnesse streccheþ wel fere, for manye /beþ f.101^r
dys Herted *and* meny beþ hanged by suche false wytnesse *and* of þis
spryngeþ many false heyres *and* oþer synnes

T

Jon techiþ, men shulden not heile hem for whoeuer heiliþ
hem shal part of her synnes. And men of þe Gospel trowen
þat þes medicynes shulde purge rewmes of wickid men bettere
þan mannes lawe.

5 Capitulum Undecimum

The fyfþe maundement of God in þis secound table
forfendiþ al men for to speke fals wytnesse aʒens her
neizbore. And þis is nedeful to execute þe lawe, for Goddis
lawe *and* memes lawe axen wytnesse, *and* of sicke wytnesse comeþ
10 iugement of man, *and* falshed of wytnesse makip fals iugement.
And so error *in* wytnesse strecchiþ ful fer, for many
ben disheritid *and* many ben hanged bi sicke fals wittnesse,
and of þis springip many fals eyris *and* oþere many synnes, for

B: 5 and falshede of wytnesse makeþ false iuggement] *om.* 6 erreure in] eyþer

T: 1 hem] þem H 2 part] haue part HY, her] þer Y 5 Capitulum Undecimum] *om.* H,

v comaundment of þe ij table Y 6 (*mar*; Capitulum Undecimum T) 7 *forfendiþ*] forbedeþ

HY, *for*] *om.* HY, *aʒens*] aʒein HY, *her*] þair HY 9 memes] mames HY, 10 man]

men Y 11 error] errooures H 12 ben hanged] men hangide HY 13 springip] springen HY

B

manye, for þe whiche God takeþ vengeaunce of men. For as þe rote of *vertues* spryngēþ ful fer, boþe in places *and* tymes, so it ys of synnes; *and* þis scholde meue men to leue false wytnesse.

For whoso wytnesseþ false, he wytnesseþ aēnst trewþe and syþ

- 5 God himself ys trewe he wytnesseþ aēns him. And so what man doþ eny dede þat himself graunteþ he doþ it on Godes half. *And* so whanne he wytnesseþ fals he takeþ God to wytnesse þat þat þyng þat he seyþ is trewe *and* of God *and*, syþ þat þyng ys fals, as muche as in him ys he makeþ his God false *and* bryngēþ him

T

whiche God takip vengeaunce of men. For as þe roote of *vertues* springip ful fer boþe in places *and* tymes, so it is of synnes; *and* þis shulde moeue men to leeue fals wittnesse.

Whoso witnessip fals, he witnessip aēns treuþe *and* siþ God

- 5 himsilf is treuþe he witnessip aēns God. *And* also what man doip ony dede þat hymself grauntip he doip it on Goddis half. *And* so whanne he witnessip fals he takip God to witnesse þat þat þing þat he seiþ is trewe *and* of God *and*, siþ þe þing is fals, as myche as in hym is he makip his God fals *and* bryngip

T: 4 aēns] aēin H 6 hymself] ne hymself HTY 8 þe] þat Y

B

to nouȝt. For God may nouȝt be bot yf he be trewe. *And þus*
no man bereþ fals wytnesse bot he reuerse God *and alle þe seyntȝ*
of heuene, *ȝe and alle creatures*. For alle seyntȝ in heuene
and alle creatures wytnesseþ trewþe of here God aȝenst him þat
5 lyep. And so he þat lyep forsakeþ his God, as he forsakeþ
himself syþ he aȝenseyþ him. He mote forsake his God syþ he
forsakeþ trewþe; *and he forsakeþ himself syþ he seyþ kendelyche*
þat God himself ys trewe, [al] yf he seye þe *contrarye*. And syþ
he mot nede in [lyynge] haue an auctor, it is no drede þat in

T

him to nouȝt. For God may not be but if [he] be trewe, *and*
noon berip fals wytnesse but if he reuerse God *and al þe*
seyntis of heuene, *ȝhe and alle creaturis*. For alle seyntis in
heuene *and alle creatures witnessen treuþe of her God aȝens him*
5 þat lieþ. *And* so he þat lieþ forsakip his God, as he forsakip
himsilf, siþ he aȝenseip him. He mot forsake his God siþ he
forsakip þe treuþe; and he forsakip himsilf siþ he seiþ
kyndely þat [God] himsilf is treuþe, al if he seiþ þe *contrarie*.
And siþ he mot nede in liyng haue an autour, it is no drede

B: 8 al] *and* 9 lyynge] lyuyng

T: 1 he] it TY, *and*] and þus HY 3 of] in HY 3-4 For alle seyntis
in heuene *and alle creatures*] om. Y 4 her] þair H 6 mot] mut nede H
7 þe] om. HY 8 God] om. T, seiþ] seie Y 9 he] him H, mot] more Y

B

þis he holdeþ wiþ þe fader of falshede. O how orryble it is
a man to forsake his God *and* take him to þe fende in body *and* in
soule, bot þus doþ þes men þat bereþ fals wytnesse. *And* so
eueryche man þat bereþ fals wytnesse blasphemē in God *and* seyþ
5 þat he is fals, bot specialyche þat b[lyndeþ] him to Godes lawe
and seyþ þat it is falsest of alle oþer lawes, and more he
þat dampneþ a man as an eretyke for he holdeþ Cristes worde
and seyþ þat it is soþe. And yf we take hede, þes þat sylleþ þe
trewþe, oþer for worlde worschep or fauour oþer moneye, passeþ

T

þat in þis he holdiþ wiþ þe fader of falshed. O hou horrible
it /is man to forsake his God *and* take him to þe fend in body f.23^r
and in soule, but þus don þes men þat beren fals witnesse. [And
so euery man þat beriþ fals witnesse] blasfemeþ in God *and* seiþ
5 þat he is fals, but specialy þat man þat b[lyndiþ] him to
Goddis lawe *and* seiþ it is falsest of alle oþere lawes, *and* more
he þat dampneþ him an eretik for he holdiþ Cristis word *and*
seiþ it is soþe. And so, if we take hede, þes þat sillen þe
troupe, oþer for worldis worship or fauour or money, passen

B: 5 blyndeþ] byndeþ 6 more] more þan

T: 1 þe] om. H 2 to forsake] forsake H 3-4 And so...

...witness] om. T 5 þæt he] he H, blyndiþ] byndeþ HTY 6 seiþ]

saþ þat HY, more] moreoure H 7 him] a man HY, an] as HY 8 seiþ]

seiþ þæt Y 9 oþer] owþer H, or Y, worldis] worldli Y, passen] he

passeþ H

B

Judas Scaryoth in syllynge of Crist. Sca/ryot solde his f.101^v
mayster for on of þes þre whanne his body was vnknowe *and*
dedlyche *and* nou3t ygloryfyed as it was after þe resurreccioun.
Bot he þat syllep now Crist þat is trewþe on alle þes wyse,
5 syllep Crist whanne he ys ygloryfyed *and* vndedlyche *and* yknowe
Lord *and* oure Sauyour.

Bot here men meueþ *communelyche* wher it be lefful to
lye. *And* summe seyep þat it is lefful for to lye in mesure for a
beter ende and it is crafte to knowe þe vertue of lyenge,
10 for meny lyep to muche *and* meny to lytel, *and* he þat holdep him

T

Judas Scarioth in sillyng of Crist. Scarioth solde Crist his
maister for oon of þes þre whame his bodi was vnblissid *and*
vnknownen, but he þat now sillip Crist on alle þes þre wises,
sillip Crist whame he is blissid *and* knownen Lord *and* Saueour.

5 *Capitulum Duodecimum*

But here men moeuen comounly wheþer it be leueful to lye.
And many religious seien þat it is leueful for to lye in
mesure for a bette eende and it is craft to knowe þe vertu of
liying, for many men lyen to myche *and* many men to litel, *and* he

T: 1 Crist his] his HY 3 now sillip] *trs.* HY 5 *Capitulum*
Duodecimum] *om.* H 6 (*mar. Capitulum Duodecimum* T) 7 religious]
religioun H, religiouns Y 7 for] *om.* H 8 for] to H, bette]
beter HY 9 men lyen] lien HY

B

in a mene hap vertue of lyenge. Bot here seyþ alle wyse men,
by wytnesse of seynt3, þat þe craft of lyenge is euer more
vnleffful for it comeþ bot of þe fende þat fyrst made
lessyngges, *and* yf it were leffful it worschepede Crist þe mene
5 persone of God þat is þe fyrste trewþe. And þerfore ich dar
wel seye, by wytnesse of byleue, þat nobyng contraryeþ more
Crist þan doþ lesynges; so þat yf a man myzte, by a pryuey
lesyng, saue al þis worlde þat elles scholde perysche, zit
scholde he nouzt lye for sauynge of þis worlde.

T

þat holdiþ him in a mene hap þe vertu of liyng. But here wyse
men seien, bi witnesse of seyntis, þat þe craft of liyng is
euer more vnleueful for it comeþ but of þe fend þat first
made lesyng, *and* if it were leueful it worshipid Crist þe
5 mene persone of God þat is þe first trewþe. And þerfor y
dar seie, bi witnesse of bileue, þat nouzt more contrarieþ
Crist þan doþ lesyng; so þat if a man myzte, bi a priuey
leesyng, saue al þis world þat ellis shulde perisshe, zit
shulde he not lie for sauynge of al þis world.

T: 1 þe] *om.* HY 1-2 wyse men seien] saine wise men HY 2 þat] *om.* H
3 but] out Y 4 lesyng] lesinges H, worshipid] worshiþe Y 6 bi]
þat Y, more contrarieþ] *trs.* HY 7 so] o Y, a priuey] priuy Y
8 perisshe] be perished H 9 for] *om.* Y, al] *om.* HY

B

And so þre craftes, as seyþ men, beþ hard bot þe [ferþe]
craft ys algate vnlefful. Fyztynge *and* pledynge *and* scornynge
ys harde, bot 3it may a man do alle þes in charyte. Bot
for to lye vpon trewþe sowneþ neuere charite, for lyenge on
5 God may he neuere preyse. Sopely it is hard to fyzte wiþ man
by charite, bot 3it it may be doo syþ God byddeþ slee men. *And*
here it is doute *communelyche* where it be lefful to fyzte; *and*
we mote nedelyche seye so, syþ God himself hap ordeyned it *and*
bede it in þe Olde Lawe, as many ensamples telleþ. *And* þis mote

T

And so þre craftys, seien men, ben hard but þe fourþe
craft is algate vnleueful. Fiztyng *and* pletyng *and* skornyng
ben hard but a man may do alle þes in charite. But for to
lie vpon trouþe sounen neuer charite, for liyng on God may
5 [he] neuer preise. Sopeli it is hard to fizte wiþ man bi
charite, but 3it it may be don siþ God biddiþ sle men. *And*
here it is douten comounly wheþer it be leueful to fizte; *and*
we moten nedely seie so, siþ God /himsilf hap ordeyned it
and bedun it in þe Olde Lawe, as many samplis tellen. *And* þis

f.23^v

B: 1 ferþe] fyrste

T: 1 craftys] creaturis Y 2 algate] algats H 3 ben] is HY, a man
may] 3it may a man HY 4 sounen] sueþe H 5 he] be T 8 moten]
not Y, himsilf] om. H

B

we graunte, bot holde þis byleue: þat no man bot by charite
scholde fyzte wiþ his enemy. *And* so, as me semeþ, yf fyztynge
be lefful it mot be by byddyng of /God *and* in Godes cause, f.102^r
and ende of þe fyztynge scholde be Godes worschep. Bot now
5 men fyzteþ in mannes cause, for pryde *and* coueytise *and* nouzt
for Godes worschep. *And* herfore it is lyckle þat batailles ydo
nowþe a day beþ ydo out of charite *and* by þe fendes meuyng. For
Crist we clepeth trewelyche a pesable kyng, *and* fro þe tyme þat he was
man he bad no suche batailles bot boþe bad *and* *procured* pacience

T

moten we graunte, but holde þis bileue: þat noon but bi charite
shulde fyzte wiþ his enemye. *And* so, as me þinkip, if fytynge
be leueful it mut be bedun of God *and* in Goddis cause, *and* eende
of þe fytynge shulde be Goddis worship. But now men fisten in
5 mannes cause left bidding of God, for pride *and* for coueitise
and not for Goddis worship. *And* herfore it is licly þat batels
doon today ben don out of charite *and* bi þe fendis moeuyng.
For Crist we clepen treuly a pesible kyng, *and* fro tyme þat he
was man he bad ne sicke batels but boþe bad *and* *procuride* paciens

T: 2 þinkip] semeþ HY 3 be bedun] be don H 5 cause] cause *and* T
7 fendis] deuels H 8 tyme] þe tym HY 9 was] was maad Y, ne] no HY,
boþe] *om.* H

B

and pees and suffre iniuryes and so bye ous pees.

- Pledynge *and* scornynge ys harde to do wel; *and* no man doþ
þis lefffullyche bot yf he kepe charite to him þat he pledeþ wiþ
and him þat he scorneþ, as yf he trowe to purge him of his olde
5 synne by þis. It is lefful to plede wiþ him or scorne him
syþ at þe barre of Crist pledyde hys seynt3, *and* Crist himself
scorneþ, as þe Salme seip. Bot lyenge openlyche aȝenseip
trowþe *and* herfore Crist himself may nouȝt lye, for he loueþ
it nouȝt bot hateþ.

T

and pees and suffre iniuries and so bie vs pees.

- Pletyng *and* skornyng ben hard to do wel; *and* no man
doip þes leuefully but if he kepe charite to him þat he
pletip wiþ *and* him þat he scorneþ, as if he trowe to purge
5 him of his olde synne. Bi þis it is leueful to plete
him or scorne him, siþ at þe barre of Crist pleden hise
seyntes *and* Crist himsilf scorneþ, as þe Salm seip. But
liying openly aȝenseip þe treuþe *and* herfor God himsilf may
not lye ne bidde his seruauȝt to lye, for he loueþ it not.

T: 2 Pletyng] Pleding HY, ben] is HY 3 þes] þis Y, leuefully]
wilfulli Y 4 pletip] pledip HY, to] om. H 5 plete] plede H
6 pleden] pleten Y 9 not lye] neuermore lie HY, he] he himself H,
it not] trs. Y

B

Bot for to knowe þis commaundement þe betere 3e
schulle vnderstonde þat a man may bere false wytnesse a3ens
his ney3ebore in þre maneres, þat is to seye in worde, in dede,
and in þes boþe togedere. In worde a man or womman bereþ
5 fals wytnesse whanne he makeþ lesynges of him to byreue him
of his goede name or fame, as some yhered for mede or for
3eftes or elles for hate or enuye bereþ fals wytnesse a3enst
here ney3ebores to make hem loste here herytage or oþer
worldelyche goedes, or elles byreue hem of here goede name or
10 fame for enuye or mede. *And þerfore* we scholde be war what
þat we speke of oure ney3ebores *and* to oure ney3ebores, so þat
we noþer aþeyre hem wrongfullyche noþer enuyouslyche wiþ
oure tunges noþer wiþ oure hertes; noþer þat we generalyche
bere fals wytnesse a3enst hem to blamyng of hem, noþer to
15 accusyng, noþer to /excusyng of hem falslyche, noþer of f.102^v
ousself. For God souereynlyche hateþ lesynges, for he ys
souereyn trowþe himself and eueryche lesyng is a3enst
trowþe. *And þerfore* whanne 3e schulleþ speke seyeb þe trowþe
or þe soþe. *And yf* 3e wolle nou3t seye þe soþe beþ styлле, or
20 elles makeþ no lesyng noþer bereþ no fals wytnesse wiþ
3oure mouþ.

B

In dede men bereþ fals wytnesse azenst here neyzebores
whanne þey doþe grete synnes *and* so wiþdraweþ falslyche here
helpe þat þey scholde doo to here euene Cristene, helpynge
hem by here goede lyuynghe toward þe blysse of heuene. For
5 æ schulle vnderstonde þat orryble synweres harmeþ alle
opere synweres, *and* also þay wiþdraweþ falselyche here helpe
þat þay scholde doo to Cristene men *and* to goede men by here
goede lyuynghe. For by *vertue* of þis article of oure byleue,
'Credo in sanctorum communionem' (þat is to seye, 'Ich byleue
10 into communynge of alle holy seynts'), [we byleueþ], and soþ it
is, þat alle goede men in erþe *and* alle seynts in heuene helpeþ
euerych oþer to be ful blessed in heuene in body *and* in soule.
And so alle goede communeþ here goednesse togedere and alle
schrewes communeþ here schrewednesse togedere. *And* þerfore,
15 syþ a mannes dede bereþ more redylyche *and* more verrayliche
wytnesse what he ys, yf he wiþdrawe falselyche his helpe *and*
his goede lyuynghe fro his neyzebore to helpe hem boþe to
heueneward, and yf he so þurgh synne be aboute in dede to
drawe him *and* his neyzebore to helleward, þan þat man
20 falselyche in dede bereþ fals wytnesse azens his neyzebores.
þan, yf a man boþe in word *and* in dede bere fals wytnesse azens

B: 10 we byleueþ] *om.*

B

his neyzebores to be aboute to vndo his body, to leese his
goedes, to byreue him his name *and* his fame falslyche *and* to
brynge his soule to helleward, þan he most sch[r]ewedelyche
bereþ wytnesse in worde *and* in dede, *and* also in boþe /two f.103^r
5 falslyche azenst his neyzebore. And þerfore God byddeþ þat
þou scholdest nouzt in word ne in dede noþer in þes boþe two
bere ne speke fals wytnesse azens þy neyzebore.

þe syxte commaundement of þis secunde table forfendeþ
þe to coueyte þy neyzebores hous. *And* men vnderstondeþ herby
10 communelyche þat þou scholdest nouzt coueyte amys goedes of
þy neyzebore þat beþ vnmeuable *and* beþ suche þynges þat beþ
nouzt alyue ne of power to meue hemself fro on place to

T

Capitulum Tertium Decimum et Nonum Mandatum

*The sixte maundement of þis secound table forfendip
þee to coueite þi neizboris hous. And men vnderstonden herby
comounly þat þou shuldest not coueite amys goodis of þi
5 neizbore þat ben vnmoeuable and ben siche þingis þat ben not
on lyue ne of power to moeue hemsilf fro oon [place] to anoþer*

B: 3 schrewedelyche] *corr.int.*

T: 1 *CapitulumMandatum*] *om.* H, þe vj commaundment of þe secunde
table Y 2 *maundement*] *comaundement* HY, (*mar. Capitulum Tertium Decimum* T),
3-4 herby comounly] *trs.* H 5 vnmoeuable] vnmeble H 6 on lyue] aliuie HY,
oon] oo Y, place] *om.* T

B

anoper, as beþ hous *and* clopynge *and* oper ornaments. *And* þis
commaundement toucheþ þe grounde of alle yuel hauynge of
suche maner goedes. For no man haþ wronglyche eny suche
goedes bot yf þe grounde of his hauynge be fals coueytyse.

- 5 *And* so, as a weed ys þan wel ypurged of a londe whanne þe
rote ys drawe away, so þes foure commaundement3 beth þanne
wel ykept whanne þe fals coueytyse ys ful qwenched. *And* herfore
seyþ Poul þat þe rote of al wyckedenesse is wyckede coueytyse
in a mannes herte. For as 3e seep coueytyse makeþ debates

T

as boþe housis *and* cloþing *and* opere ournementis. *And* þis
maundement toucheþ þe ground of al yuel hauyng of siche
maner good. For no man haþ wrongly ony siche goodis but
if þe ground of his hauyng be fals coueitise. *And* so, as a

- 5 weed is þanne wel purgid of a londe whanne þe roote is
drawen away, so þes foure comaundementis ben þan wel kept
whanne þe fals coueitise is /fully quenchid. *And* herfor seiþ
Poul þat þe roote of alle yuelis is wickid coueitise in a
mannes soule.

f.24^r

T: 1 boþe] ben HY, housis *and*] housis or H, cloþing] cloþes HY
3 good] godes H 4 his] þis HY 5 a] *om.* HY 8 þe] *om.* HY,
a] *om.* Y

B

bytwene reme *and* reme, cytee *and* cytee, toun *and* toun, man
and man. *And* communelyche alle stryues *and* bryges *and* debates
beþ caused of coueytise, *and* of vnleffful loue of worldlyche
goedes *and* forþetyng of God *and* of heuenelyche goedes.

- 5 And þerfore wiþ al myn herte ych conseyle alle men *and*
wommen in God þat 3e coueyte no mannes goedes wiþ wrong bot
holde 3ow apayde of þat þat God haþ sende 3ow trewelyche
ygete. For yf 3e lytle haue, of lytle 3e schulle rekene; yf
3e muche haue, of muche 3e schulle 3eue rekenynge, to þe leste
10 peny oþer halpeny þat 3e receyue of God here in erþe how þat 3e
spende it. Þerfore wel is him þat haþ lytel *and* holdeþ him apayed
of lytele *and* þonkeþ God. For a dredful rekenynge schal ryche
3elde. *And* þerfore coueyte 3e /no mannes goedes wiþ wrong. f.103^v
For Seynt Gregory wytnesseþ of þe ryche man þat Crist spekeþ
15 of in þe Gospel, þat he was nouzt punshed in peynes of helle
for rauyschyng *and* mystakyng of oþer mennes goedes, as some
oþer þeues doþ, bot for he 3af nouzt of his owene goodes to
hem þat nedede. What peyne, þerfore, schal he be punshed þat
wrongfullyche takeþ or coueyteþ oþer mennes goodes wiþ wrong?

T

And no man may excuse men of religioun þat ne þei breken
 þis nynþe maundement: as freris bi her beggyng coueiten amys
 þe goodis of her neizboris, as her dede shewep, þe chirche
 þat is dowed coueitip amys þe rentis *and* þe housis of secular
 5 men. Siþ God haþ forbode hem to be siche lordis, as boþe þe
 Olde Lawe *and* þe Newe beren witnesse, and siþ þis is so opun
 azens Hooli Writt *and* so stefly defendid, it is eresie.
 And so comounly prelati ben eretikis, *and* more deply þan
 opere men ben. *And* siþ men þat consenten to hem ben
 10 eke eretikis, þe more hedis of þe Chirche ben smyttid wiþ
 eresie *and*, bi þe lawe of eresie, opere men boþe, siþ goostly
 dedis of siche prelati blemyschen her doers *and* hem þat
 approuep hem. *And* siþ it is azens þe maundement of God þus
 for to coueite þe hous of þi neizbore, myche more it is
 15 azens Goddis wille to coueite þus þe hous of þi God.
 For chirche is not oonly hous to þi God, but it is comoun
 hous to many of þi neizboris. *And* so alle symonyeris *and*

T: 2 maundement] comaundement HY, her] þaire HY, beggyng] goyng Y
 3 her neizboris] þaire neizebore HY, her dede] þere dede HY 4 þe housis]
 housis Y 6 beren] bereþ H 7 azens] azen Y, stefly] stiftli Y
 8 prelati] pise prelates H 10 hedis] hede H, wiþ] wiþ þis Y
 12 her] þer Y 13 approuep] approuen Y, siþ] siþ siþ H, siþ þat Y,
 azens] om. H, azen Y 14 for] om. H, þe hous of þi neizbore] þin
 nezebores house H 15 azens] azen Y 16 chirche] þe chirche Y, to]
 of HY 17 so] om. Y

T

- properis of chirchis synnen azens þis maundement as depe
eretikis, and he þat autorisiþ siche dedis is *principal*
eretik. Ne trowe not þes folis þat speken as pies *and* seien
þat *sum* symonye is opun eresie *and sum* is noon (but þei tellen
5 not whiche). For clerkis knowen wel if symonye *in* his kynde
be foul eresie eche symonye is siche. *And* so symonye of
chirches, of more or of lesse, þat is doon bi þe Pope is
so myche þe worse. For he may not fordo resoun, ne
maundement of God, ne he may not grounde bi resoun siche
10 *propring* of chirches. Siche bullis *ben* eresies siþ þei *ben*
fals techyng, *contrarie* to Goddis lawe *and* stifly defendid,
and, bi þis same skile, eche bulle of a fals prest. Þis
sentence seiþ Grosthed *and* draweþ it out of Greke. Lord,
wheþer þe witt of God forbedde siche coueitise of pore
15 housis of men *and* not worse coueitise of his owne hous þat
shulde be Hooli Chirche! But þe Gospel seiþ þa[t] Pharisees
/sy[u]en þe gnatt, but þe camel þei deuouren hool .

f.24^v

T: 1 azens] azein HY, depe] depe as T 2 autorisiþ] astoriþ Y
4 opun] om. H 5 his] om. H 7 Pope] peple Y 11 techyng] techingis Y,
stifly] stiftli Y 13 out] om. H 16 þat] þa T 17 syuen] syen HTY, deuouren]
deuoureden H

B

Bot here men may doute where it be lefful to coueyte
oper mennes goodes vpon alle manere. And it is no drede þat ne
it ys lefful to coueyte opon goed manere, for þus alle
seruant3 serueþ here lordes to haue of here goodes for to
5 lyue wiþ. Bot þe rote of many synnes stondeþ in þis: þat
grettere men coueyteþ lasse menne goedes and fayleþ in here
seruyce, for fewe men dar axe hem. And þus Salomon seyþ þat þe
waterleche hap two douzteres þat syngeþ þis sang: 'Bryng,
bryng' (of [3]oure goedes), for þat þey coueyteþ most. Soþ it is

T

Capitulum Quartum Decimum

But here may men doute wheþer it be leueful to coueite
opere memes goodis vpon al maner. And it is no drede þat
ne it is leueful to coueite opere memes godis vpon good
5 maner, for þus alle seruauntis seruen her lordis to haue
of here goodis for to lyue wiþ. But þe roote of many synnes
stondip in þis: þat gretter men coueiten lesse memes goodis
[and] failen in her seruiyse, for fewe men dar axe hem. And þus
Salamon seiþ þat þe watirleche hap two douztris þat syngen
10 þis song: 'Brynge bryng' (of 3oure goodis), for þat þei coueiten

B: 9 3oure] oure

T: 1 *Capitulum Quartum Decimum*] om. H, 3 goodis] good Y

5 her] þer HY 6 here] þaire HY, þe] om. HY

7 stondip] stonden H 8 and] þat T, her] þer Y

B

þat lordes schal haue rentes of here tenaunt3 whanne þay
doþ þe seruyce þat þe chef Lord axeþ, þat is whanne þay
ledeþ here tenaunt3 in resoun *and* defendeþ Godes lawe aʒens þe
fend, *and* whanne þay fayleþ herynne þey beþ tyraunt3. And
5 amercement3 wiþoute resoun ys a pryuey spoylynge, for non
scholde amercy oþer bot by þe wey of charite to amende in
maneres þe man þat ys amerced; *and* þis may be wel ydone ryȝt in
many causes. Bot þat oþer douȝter of þis waterleche synweþ
more in þis synne meny wyse. Fyrst he ys waxe grete by

T

moost. Soþ it is þat lordis shal haue rentis of her
tenauntis whanne þei don þe seruyce þat þe cheef Lord axiþ,
þat is whanne þei leden her tenauntis in resoun *and* defenden
Goddis lawe aʒens þe fend; and whanne þei failen herynne þei
5 ben tyrauntis. *And* mercymenis out of resoun is a pryuey spuylyng,
for no man shulde amercy oþere but bi law of charite, to amende
in maneris þe man þat is amercyed; *and* þis may be wel don riȝt in
many casis. But þe toþer douȝter of þis waterleche synnep
more in þis syme in many wise. First she is waxen greet bi

T: 1 her] þaire HY 2 cheef] cheel Y 3 her] þair HY 4 aʒens]
aʒen Y, herynne] þerinne Y 6 amercy] mercy HY, law] þe way HY
7 amercyed] mercied HY, be wel] trs. HY 8 casis] a caas Y, þe toþer]
þis oþer H, þat oþer Y 9 syme] tyme H, is waxen] waxiþ H, is moost Y

B

lordschep of þis worlde aʒens þe wyl of God. *And* þis dop
muche harme, for by þis þey leueþ seruyce to here sugget3
and [bysyep] hem many weyes to souke blode of hem, for þey
secheþ here rychesse and nou3t helpe of here soules. *And* as
5 he turneþ Godes lawe /to þe lawe of þe fende so he clepeþ f.104^r
'correcciouns' robbynge of here sugget3 *and* sylleþ hem leue
aʒen to dwelle in here synne. *And* þis ys a newe þefþe þat
Antecrist hap founde aʒens þis commaundement for þis fendes
couetyse. *And* here þey sylleþ trewþe *and* hele of mannes soules,

T

lordship of þis world aʒens þe wille of God. *And* þis doip
myche harm, for bi þis she leueþ seruyce to her sugetis *and*
bisieþ her many weies to souke blood of hem, for she sekþ
her richesse *and* not helpe of her soule. *And* as she turneþ
5 Goddis lawe to lawe of þe fend so she clepiþ 'correcciouns'
robbyng of her sugetis *and* sillip hem leue aʒen to dwelle
in her synne. *And* þis is a newe þefte þat Antecrist hap
founden aʒens þis maundement for þis fendis coueitise.
And here þei sillen treuþe *and* hele of memmes soulis, *and* þis is

B: 3 bysyep] byseyueþ

T: 1 aʒens] aʒen Y 4 richesse] rychessis Y, helpe] heele HY,

her soule] þair soule H, her soulis Y 6 her] þer Y, hem] þem H

7 her] þair HY 8 aʒens] *and* aʒen Y, maundement] comaundement HY

B

and þis is most contrarye aʒenst God *and* his Churche. Bot here þes
fendes children argueþ for here partye *and* seyþ þat by lesynge of
grace men falleþ fro iuste tytle of goodes þat þey occupyeþ
of here chef Lord. *And* by þis colour it is yseyde þat þe Pope
5 Innocent þe pryddæ axeþ of Engeland nyne hundred marke by
ʒere, for Kyng Jon, as he seyþ, fel aʒens God *and* herefore
Cristes vycarye scholde axe þis [eschete]. Bot soþ it is þat
lordes synweþ ofte tymes *and* falleþ fro þe worschep þat here
God haþ ʒeue hem, bot þes blynde leches knoweþ þis nouʒt,

T

moost *contrarie* aʒens God *and* his Chirche. But here þes
fendis children arguen for her part *and* seien bi leesyng
of *grace* men fallen fro iust title of goodis þat þei
occupien of her cheef lord. And bi þis colour it is seid þat
5 Innocent þe þridde axide of Englund nyne hundrid mark /bi ʒeer, f.25^r
for Kyng Jon, as he seiþ, fel aʒens God *and* herfor Cristis
viker shulde axe þis eschete. But soop it is þat lordis
synnen ofte tymes *and* fallen fro lordship þat her God haþ
ʒyuen hem, but þes blynde leches knowen þis not, ne whame

B: 7 eschete] eche ʒer

T: 1 moost] þe moost Y, *contrarie*] *traytorie* HY, aʒens] aʒeine H, {aʒen}
corr.mar. Y, þes] þis Y 2 her] þer Y 4 her] þer Y 5 nyne] nynþe Y,
bi] bi þe Y 6 aʒens] aʒen Y, (*mar. nota* T) 8 lordship] þe lordeschipe H,
þer lordship Y, her] þer Y

B

ne whanne þey turne azen by grace of here God. And herfore
no creature is ferþer fro his offyce þan beþ prelatz of þe
Churche, for Crist hath put it fro hem boþe by here blyndenesse
and forbedyng of þes rycheesses. *And* so God wole men occupye
5 rycheesses of þis worlde, al yf þey be in gret synne, *and* bye it
by here almesse, *and* to haue grace of verray repentaunce *and* clene
schryfte, for hope of mercy *and* forþeuenesse is in knowelechyng
of here trespass. And somtyme he ordeynede to putte hem fro
here lordschep, bot none scholde do þys offyce bot whanne
10 God bad him. *And* þus mercymenzt of prelatz were sumdel

T

þei turnen azen bi grace of her God. And herfor no
creature is ferþer fro þis office þan ben prelatiz of þe
Chirche, for Crist hap put it fro hem boþe bi her blyndenesse
and forbedyng of þes richessiz. *And* so God wole men occupie
5 richesse of þis world, al if þei ben in greet synne, *and* bi it
bi her almes. And sumtymes he ordeyneþ to putte hem fro
her lordship, but noon shulde do þis office but whanne
God badde him. *And* þus mercymenzt of prelatiz were sumdel

T: 1 her] þer HY 3 Crist] God Y, her] þair HY 4 þes richessiz]
þis riches H 5 richesse] richessiz Y 6 bi] wiþ Y, her] þer HY,
sumtymes] sumtyme Y, ordeyneþ] ordeined Y 7 her] þer Y, lordship]
lordeschippes H

B

grounded in resoun yf þay 3af to pore men þes goodes þat
þay takeþ. Bot [marke] it to here [kychen] is no goed almesse,
bot harmeþ boþe partyes *and* noryscheþ more synne *and* makeþ þes
prelatz forfete þe more azenst God. *And* bot þey amende hem,
5 angeles schulleþ bynde hem boþe hondes *and* feete *and* caste hem
into helle *et cetera*.

/Þe laste commaundement of God ys bede in þes wordes: f.104^v

'Þou scha[l]t nou3t desyre þe wyf of þy neyzebore, ne his
seruante, ne his mayde, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne al þat ys

T

groundid in resoun if þei 3af to pore men þes goodis þat
þei taken. But to marke it to her kychen is no good almes,
but harmeþ boþe parties *and* noriship more synne *and* makip
þes prelatis to forfete in more azens God. *And* but þei
5 amend hem, aungels shal bynde hem boþe hond *and* feet *and* cast
hem into helle.

{ *Capitulum Quintum Decimum* } *Decimum mandatum*

The last maundement of God is bedun in þes wordis: *Þou*
shalt not desire þe wijf of þi neisbore, ne his seruant,
10 *ne his mayden, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne al þat is his.*

B: 2 marke] ynarke, kychen] lykyng 8 schalt] schat

T: 1 pore] þe pore Y 2 to marke it to her kychen] make hem to þus richen Y

3 more] þe more H 4 to] *om.* HY, azens] azen Y, God] here God H,

þer God Y 5 feet] fote H 6 hem] þem H, into] to H

7 *Capitulum Quintum Decimum*] *om.* H, *mar.* T, *Decimum mandatum*] *om.* H, þe vij

comaundement of þe secunde table Y 8 maundement] comaundement Y 10 *mayden*]

maide HY, al] no þing at al Y, *is his*] *trs.* H

B

his.' *And* so in þis *commaundement* is desyre forbode þat ys
vnskyful of þes syxe þynges. And for men coueyteþ more þes
þan þay dop dede þynges, herfore hete of coueytise ys wyslyche
forbode. *And* here we may see þat synne of mannes wylle was
5 forbode to þe fadres of þe Olde Lawe, for ofte tymes it
falleþ þat þe synne ys more grounded in yuel wyl þan þe
dede wiþouteforþ and herfore Crist, oure heuenlyche leche,
forfendeþ suche desyre.

T

And so in þis *maundement* is desijr forbedun þat is vnskilful
of þes sixe þingis. *And* for men coueiten more þes þan deed
þingis, herfor hete of coueitise is wisely forbedun. And
her may we se þat synne of mames wille was forbedun to
5 fadris of þe Wolde Lawe, for ofte tymes it falliþ þat þe
synne is more groundid in yuel wille þan þe dede wiþouteforþ
and herfore *Crist*, oure heuenly leche, forfendip siche desijr.
For he were vnwaar leder þat shulde teche men þe weie *and*
ledde hem vnto þe pitt bank whanne suyrer weie were biside.
10 And so þes ten *comaundementis* ben lawe suyrest of alle

T: 2 *And*] *om.* Y 6 yuel] ille H 8 teche] lede H, þe] *om.* H
9 hem] þem H, vnto] to Y, pitt] pittes H, suyrer] sure HY
10 lawe suyrest of alle] surest of alle þe lawe Y

T

and of moost autorite *and* eke of moost mede. And herfor
shulden men leue al priuat religioun *and* wandre /in þis f.25^v
weie þat God haþ put vs yme. *And* siþ þes ten lawes techen
al þe wille of oure Lord, þis lawe shuld be holden *and* opere
5 lawes dispisid, but if it be groundid in þis *and* declare þis
lawe. And so, siþ lawe of þe Emperour *and* lawe of þe Pope ben
worse þan þis lawe bi a þousyndfold *and* þes letten knowyng
and doyng of Goddis lawe *and* ofte tymes ben eresies contrarie
to þis lawe, many men þenken þat Goddis lawe itsilf shulde
10 be red *and* lerned *and* sued in dede. For þer is no caas þat
ne it wolde decide it, *and* stable rist *and* pees bitwixe men
in þis weie, *and* brynge hem to blisse of heuene þat is oure
best eende.

{*Capitulum Sextum Decimum*}

15 But here men douten comounly, siþ Goddis lawe is
trewe bi eche part of it *and* no falshed is þeryme, hou
seip Seynt Jame þat he þat brekip oon of þes maundementis
of God he is gilty of hem alle; but it semeþ nay, bi many
resouns. For many men knowen oon *and* knowen not anoþer *and*

T 2 leue] knowe *and* leue Y, religioun] religions H, religiouse Y

5 lawes] lawe Y 6 siþ lawe] syth þe law HY, *and* lawe] *and* þe law HY,

ben] is HY 9 many] may Y 11 bitwixe] bitwen H 12 in] *and* H

14 *Capitulum Sextum Decimum*] *mar.* T, *om.* H 17 maundementis] comaundementis Y

18 gilty] in alle *canc.* Y, of] in H

T

- skilful God wole not blame *men* for þat þat þei knowen not.
 But here shulde we trowe þat al Goddis lawe is fulliche
 trewe, or ellis God were fals, *and* more eresie of fendis
 was *neuer* noon foundoun. *And* so shal we trowe þat þe same God
 5 þat spak in oon autour spak in *hem* alle. And so James
 seiþ soþ, if we take hede. Ne it is not ynow, as many *men*
 seien, þat he þat brekiþ oon kepiþ not *hem* alle, for it
 is more to seie 'he is gylty in alle' þan it were to seie
 'he kepiþ not *hem* alle'. And so Goddis comaundementis ben
 10 knyttid togidre, þat whoso kepiþ oon wel he kepiþ *hem*
 alle *and* whoso brekiþ oon he is gilty of eche. And so noon
 may excuse him of vnknowyng of þes. For be he *neuer* so
 zong a child *and* faile not in his *parsone* ne in *men* þat
 shulden 3yue him þe sacramentis of God, God techiþ hym
 15 to loue God *and* herof holdeþ him payed. And so as *men* wexen
 in elde so shulden þei /wexe in kunyng *and* kepyng of þes f.26^r
 comoundementis, til þei come to heuene. *And* so in many

T: 1 not] *om.* Y, þat þat] þat Y 3 or] for Y 4 shal] schulden H
 5 þat spak] *om.* Y 6 if we take hede] *om.* H, many] sum Y 7 kepiþ]
 he kepiþ Y 8 seie¹] seþ þat HY, in] in *hem* Y 9 comaundementis]
 maundementis HY 10 knyttid] so knittid HY 11 of] in H 13-14 *men*
 þat shulden] man þat schulde H 16 so] *om.* HY 17 comoundementis]
 maundements H

T

- degrees kepe *men þes maundementis*. But *necligence* is *perelous*
siþ it makip *men breke summe*. And so no *man* shulde lerne
but þes *maundementis* or þat disposiþ to *hem*, as oþer
Goddis lawe. But here laweris grucchen *and* seien þis is not
5 soop, as many *men þer ben þat kepen* not her Sabot for þei
come not te þe Sabot; but hou shulden þei kepe it, but if
God had broust *hem þerto and herto* zyuen hem power? Also
many *men þer ben þat han no fadris; and if þei hadden eldris*
it were vnresonable þat þei shulden neuer do ouzt but
10 worshiþe he[r] eldris, for *summe heestis*, bi her kynde, bynden
not for euer. And also, if þis were soop, eche *man were*
holden to lerne þes hestes ten *and noon oþer þing*, and so
mames lawe shulde tume to nouzt for noon shulde lerne it
ne kepe it, but what were it þame? Here shulden we trowe,
15 as it is seid bifore, þat eche *man shulde kume þes ten*
heestis of God, ne God failiþ *him* not þat ne God techiþ hym
þes but if þe defaut be *in man*, for God may not faile; ne

T: 2 breke] to breke H 3 or] or ellese H 4 seien] seien þat Y
5 her] þer HY 6 if] [if] *corr.mar.* Y 8 no] noon Y 9 ouzt] nost HY
10 her] þer HY, he T, her] þaire HY 11 also] so H 12 holden]
bownden H, hestes ten] *trs.* HY 15 ten] *om.* HY 16 God
techiþ] he techēþ H, hym] hem Y 17 þe] *om.* HY

T

God axip neuer kepyng of þes ten maundementis but now more
and now lesse, as resoun wole telle men. And to þe first resoun
we answeren on þis wise: þat eche man, be he neuer so song
and what tyme þat he dye, shulde kepe þis þridde heest. For
5 eche man hap mynde, ȝyuen of God, to þenk on his God and to
plese him. And so, if a man lette not himsilf, he shulde
willen to plese God, and þat God takip for fulfillyng of his
biddyng. And so if þou haue mynde Goddis lawe biddip þee
'haue mynde' to kepe þin haliday and not for to kepe it. And so
10 a man þat is deed bifore he come to haliday, bi general
þenkyng he holdip þis heest. And so afti[r] þe day of
doom he kepip þis last Sabot. To þe secound resoun we
answeren þus: þat eche man in þis world shulde worshiþe his
fadir. For if he haue noon eerþeli fader, as Adam hadde
15 noon, ne if he hadde noone /siche eldris, ȝit alle han we f.26^v
God and þan shulden we worshiþe God as oure Fader. And siþ
alle þingis [þat shal] be ben present to God and whoso doip þe

T: 1 ten] om. HY 3 eche] eueri HY 5 and to] and so H
7 willen] wilne H, fulfillyng] fillinge HY 8 Goddis] as Goddis Y
10 bifore] or lijf Y 11 aftir] aftip T 12 þis] his HY 15 eldris]
fadriss Y, han we] trs. H 17 þingis] þinge HY, þat shal] þhal T,
ben] is HY

T

- wille of God is broþer to *Crist*, sisterre *and* moder, euery
man in þis world haþ *sum* maner of eldris. And so summe
maundementis bynden euere *and* for euere, *and* summe bynden
euer but specialy for *sum* tyme; as maundementis
5 affirmatyues *and* opere bynden for euere, as þe last of þe
first table *and* þe first of þe secound table bynden euermore
men but not for euere to do siche dedis þat þe heest
specifieþ. But whoeuere loueþ his God he worshipiþ hise
eldris. To þe þridde object we answe[re] on þis wise: þat
10 no man shulde lerne but heest of his God or þat helpiþ to
kepe Goddis heestis. And so no man shulde here ne lerne
oper þing þat were contrarie to kepyng of þes heestis.
And siþ alle false lawes ben contrarie to Goddis heest *and*
lawes maad of men ben powdrid wiþ eresie, it semeþ ful
15 perelous to stude þes lawes, and specialy siþ power
þat God haþ ȝouen man is litel ynow to lerne Goddis lawe
and studyng in mames lawe lettਿþ lernyng of Goddis lawe.

T: 3 for] *sum* for Y 5 affirmatyues] aftir matynes Y 6 secound table]
secunde Y 8 loueþ] wirschiþ *and* loueþ H, not *canc.* Y 9 answe[re] answe T
10 but] bot þe HY, heest] heestis Y, his] *om.* H 13 heest] hestes HY

T

And so men synnen greuously bi lernyng of mames lawe,

but more þes þat ordeynen it *and* mayntenen it *and* suen it.

For soþþ it is þat aftir a man loueþ a lawe he loueþ þe

autour of it *and* eende of þis lawe. But he is cursid of God

5 þat as myche loueþ man or richesse or worship þat comen of
mames lawe as he loueþ God or þe blisse of heuene.

Expliciunt Mandata, Amen.

T: 3 he loueþ] *trs. HY* 5 worship] *worschippes H* 7 *Expliciunt Mandata*

Amen] *Expliciunt Mandata Dei H*, Here eendip þe x comaundements *and* bigymep

Feip Hope *and* Charite Y

B

- And in þis word, 'þou schalt nouȝt desyre þe wyf of
þy neyȝebore', as seyþ Seynt Austyne, ys forbode alle manere
of coueytse or wille to do lecherye. For I tolde ȝow
byfore in þe þrydde *commaundement* þat God forbedeþ alle
5 manere of dede of lecherye, bot some foles *paraunter* weneþ
þat, yf þay do nouȝt þe dede, þat it were no *perel* þough þey
wylkede oþer assentede þerto. And God wole þat men ywete þat
it is nouȝt so. Bot for al so muche þat God knoweþ fullyche
boþe body *and* soule, to þe leste þouȝt of mannes herte, *and* more
10 *verraylyche* seeþ eueryche þouȝt in wyll of oure hertes
þan eny of ous seeþ oþer's workes; *and* also for suche as a
man ys in his herte and in his soule *and* in his wille, suche
he ys byfore God þat knoweþ boþe body *and* soule (for God wole
haue alle clene wipoute *and* wipinne boþe), whanne God byfore
15 hadde forbode alle fleschelyche dede out of trewe wedloke,
in þis *comaundement* God forbedeþ alle manere of vnclene *and*
vnlefful coueytynge *and* desyrynge of dedes of flesche, *and* byddeþ
þat þou schalt nouȝt coueyte þy neyȝebore seruant ne his
mayde, [and] for of a mannes housholde after himself a mannes
20 wyf is most *precious* to him, yf þay be boþe wel yrewled, þerfore

B: 19 and] *om.*

B

f.105^r

- God byd/deþ specialyche þat þou schalt noust coueyty þy
neyzebores wyf ne non oþer womman for lecherye. And ryzt as
God forbedeþ ous alle manere lecherye in body *and* in soule, in
dede and in wil, ryzt so herebyfore God forbedeþ euerych
5 man *and* womman alle manere of þefþe. Bot for meny wolde stele
and þay dorste for þe galewes *and* þay weneþ þat it be no synne
bot þey dyde it in dede, God scheweþ þe contrarye *and* byddeþ
þat þou schalt noþer stele ne coueyty wrongfullyche oþer
menne goedes. *And* þis is þe te[n]þe commaundement of God, so þat
10 in þes seuene commaundements of þe secunde table þat techen
ous how we schulle haue ous to oure euene Cristene, *and* in þe
þre commaundements of þe fyrste table þat techen ous to loue
God aboue alle þynges, ys al Godes lawe. And as þis lawe was
ywryte in two tables, so it ys fulfilled in þes two loues,
15 þat ys in loue of almyzty God *and* in loue of oure euene
Cristene. And þes two loues beþ two hestes of þe Gospel.
- Cryst in þe Gospel fulfilleþ al þe lawe in þes two
hestes *and* seyþ þus: 'Loue þy God *and* þy neyzebore.' In þis wyse
þou schalt loue þy God: fyrst wiþ al þyn herte, þat noþyng be
20 nyr in þyn herte þan God; þou schalt loue God in al þy soule,
þat þou ne soffre no synne abyde in þy soule for loue *and*

B

drede of þy God; in al þy mynde, þat noþyng be so muche in
þy mynde as God; *and* þou schalt loue him wiþ al þy myzt, þat
þou ne spare for no myschef to queme God.

Þe secunde precepte of þe Gospel ys þat þou schalt

- 5 loue þy neyzebore ryzt as þyself, in goed *and* nouzt yn yuel
noþer in synne, bot as þyself gostlyche *and* nouzt
fleschlyche; for fleschlyche loue draweþ to synne *and* þat ys
hate. And þou schalt loue him as muche as þyself in hele *and*
sykenesse, in wele *and* in wo; also euenelyche wiþ þyself, so
10 þat þou loue eche man in body *and* soule more þan worldelyche
wele or goed; gostlyche as þyself, so þat þou /schalt loue þy
neyzebore ys soule more þan þyn owen lyf *and* raper leue þyn
owen lyf þan soffre a dedly synne be do, lettynge by þy power;
also wel as þyself bodylyche, þat þou helpe him in his nede
15 as þou woldest þat he helpe þe in þy nede, for lawe of kynde
techeþ þat no man scholde do oþer wyse to his neyzebore þan
he wolde skylfullyche þat his neyzebore dyde to him in þe
same caas, and þis byddeþ Crist in þe Gospel *and* seyþ þus:
'Alle þynges þat ȝe wole þat men do to ȝow doþ ȝe þe same to
20 hem.' And yf þou loue þy neyzebore in þis wyse þou louest God,
for Seynt Bernard seyþ þat God is nouzt yloued wiþoute loue

f.105^v

B

- þat man schal haue to his neyzebore, ne þe neyzebore ys nouzt
yloued wiþoute loue þat man schal haue to God. Bot and we
wol come to loue of God wham we seyþ nouzt, ous nedep to loue
oure neyzebore wham we seep, and herfore axeþ þe apostel
- 5 Seynt Jon, 'How may he loue God wham he seep nouzt, þat loueþ
nouzt his broþer wham he seep?' And þus yf þou loue þy neyzebore,
by þe whiche neyzebore beþ alle maner men *and* wommen of
what degre or countre oþer londe euer þay be, frende or
enemy, vnderstonde..... For who þat hateþ on man of alle þe wyde
- 10 worlde, he hateþ Crist þat ys God *and* man. For Seynt Bernarde
seyþ þat he þat hateþ a man hateþ Crist, *and* also he seyþ þat
whateuere in goede werkes he offere to God he schal lose
it. For Seynt Poule seyþ, 'Yf I schal ȝeue alle my goedes
into metes of poure men *and* my body to brenne in þe fyre, *and*
- 15 I haue no charyte,' he seyþ, 'it profyþeþ me nouzt.' (Þat ys
to mene it profyþeþ me nouzt into encresynge of blysse in
heuene, bot it helpeþ to haue more plenteþe of erpelyche
goedes *and* to haue grace þe rapier to come to amendement, *and* yf
he be dampned to peyne of helle he schal suffre þe lasse
- 20 peyne). And so goede dedys, workes, *prayeres* *and* almesse dedys
þat beþ ydo out of charyte schal ne/ueþe brynge a man to

f.106^r

B

blysse of heuene bot yf he haue grace to amende him here.

And þerfore loue 3e 3oure neyzebore as 3e scholde and þen 3e

kepeþ þes ten *commaundement3* of God. For Seynt Poule seyþ þat

he þat loueþ his neyzebore haþ fulfilled þe lawe, for he þat

5 loueþ his neyzebore doþ non yuel; wharfore fulfylling of þe

lawe ys loue. And herfore I dar hardylyche seye yf we

kepe þis lessoun into oure lyues ende þat heuene blysse

schal be oure heritage. For, as Crist seyþ himself þat may

noust lye, 'Whoso loueþ me he schal kepe my worde,' þat ys to

10 seye þes ten *commaundement3* ybede of Godes owene moup. And

þes we kepeþ wel whanne we doþ as he byddeþ ous in þe Gospel

of Seynt Jon whare he seyep þus: 'Þis ys my byddyng, þat 3e

loue togedere as ych haue yloued 3ow.' *And þus we loueþ eche*

oþer yf we kepeþ þe order of loue forseyde, for þis ys

15 Godes worde. *And þenne þe Fader of heuene schal loue ous, and*

come to ous, *and* make his dwellyng place wiþ ous; þat schal be

in heuene blysse þer ys Godes dwellynge, in ioie *and* blysse

euerelestyng wiþ God *and* his holy angeles *and* alle holy seynt3,

in þe whiche ioie *and* blysse he ous graunte place to dwelle

20 þat brouzte Adam out of boundes of helle. Amen

Explicit Bonus Tractatus de Decem Mandatis.

NOTES

Where both B and T have a witness, lemmata are taken from B.

B1/1-2/6, T1/1-2/6 **Alle.....byddyng**] This passage corresponds to the first section of the DI Prologue, cf. *BVV* pp.317/8-24.

T1/2 **men**] For H's expansion see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (7).

B1/2, T1/3-4 **þe Gospel**] Matthew 19:16-19.

B2/1, T2/1 **bylcue**] In general the Christian faith, but perhaps referring specifically to the first article of the Apostles' Creed, cf. *BVV* pp.6/33-7/2.

T2/3 **þe more**] For this emendation, see chapter on the textual tradition, possible TY joint errors (1).

T2/5 **loued**] For H *loued* and *thankide* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (7).

B2/5, T2/5 **Crist seip**] John 14:23.

T2/8 **for who**] For H *who* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (6).

B3/1, T3/1 **frelyche**] See e.g. Deuteronomy 30:15-20.

B3/2 **wilfullyche**] For this emendation see chapter on the textual tradition, possible BH joint errors (1).

B3/5, T3/4 **helle**] See Matthew 13:37-43, 25:41-42.

B3/8 **yn þe Holy Gospel**] Matthew 16:27.

T3/6 **freris ne preieres**] For Lollard objections to prayers for the dead see *Twelve Conclusions*, *SEWW* p.26/73-92 and note; Arnold ii.212-13; Hudson, *PR* pp.309-10. For Wyclif's views on prayers performed for money see *Polemical Works* i.346/28ff. The 1382 Blackfriars Council condemned as erroneous Wyclif's opinion that 'speciales orationes

applicatae uni personae, per prelatos, vel religiosos, non plus prosunt eidem personae, quam generales orationes, ceteris paribus, eidem' (FZ p.281, item xix). For Wyclif's response and his insistence that general prayer was more efficacious than that offered on behalf of an individual see *Sermones* iii. 380ff. As Anne Hudson points out, the objections expressed in the *Twelve Conclusions* were three-fold: that prayers for specific persons were contrary to the law of charity which should not be exclusive; that praying for those who may be damned appears to question God's judgement; and that the offering of money for prayers was simony (SEWW pp.26, 153). For later Lollards the issue was related to the question of purgatory, since it was clear that if a man went straight to hell no prayers could possibly help him (Hudson, *PR* pp.309-10). Even for those in purgatory, however, the preferred Lollard method of assistance was through the 'preier of good liif' (Arnold ii.212/31).

Such prayers could be provided both by friars and by other clerics (Arnold ii.212/28). Other abuses were specific to friars. One such complained of by Wyclif was the issue (for money) of letters of fraternity which purported to offer the recipient a share in the benefits accruing from the friars' good works both in life and in death. As Wyclif points out (*Dialogus* pp.349-50), this implies that the friars had the power to preserve both themselves and others from damnation and is therefore not only simony but blasphemy (see also Workman ii.107-108 and, for two examples of such letters cited by Workman, see Ord (ed.) (1794), pp.85-87). It was also possible to be buried in friars' clothing (Wyclif, *Polemical Works* i.35/7), a practice described in *LFC* as a 'ful parlows heresy'(p.82/1225), since it encouraged people to live in sin in the belief that wearing these clothes would lead to forgiveness. For further Lollard

references to this practice see Workman ii.108.

B3/10 *And oure beleue*] See articles 8 and 12 of the Apostles' Creed
BVV pp.8, 9.

B4/2, T4/1-2 *syþ þey beþ pure lyzte*] cf. Matthew 11:30.

B4/8 *Seynt Austyn*] Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, *Sermo xxxix*
(*PL* 38.241).

B4/11 *Seynt Austyn*] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* xx,c.20 (*PL*
41.687ff.)

B5/2 *Seynt Bernard*] Pseudo-Bernard, *Meditationes Piissimae de*
Cognitione Humanae Conditionis, c.iii (*PL* 184.491.C).

B5/5 *þe wyse man*] Ecclesiasticus 14:12.

B5/11 *seyntes seggeþ*] e.g. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* xiii, c.10 (*PL*
41. 383); Bernard, *Sermones de Tempore*, *Sermo xvii* (*PL* 183.250.C).

B5/14 *seyþ þe Gospel*] Mark 13:33-35, Mark 14:38

B5/15-17 *wheþer.....oþer openlyche*] These lines gloss the
remaining section of Mark 13:35 'nescitis enim quando dominus domus
veniat, sero an media nocte an galli cantu an mane', interpreting it as an
instruction for man to live his life in a state of continual preparedness for
his death and judgement. For this interpretation see the quotation from
Theophylus in Aquinas, *Catena Aurea* ii.271. For a discussion of the
practice of viewing man's life as divided into three such watches see
Burrow (1986), pp.66-72. Sermons on the topic were preached by
Bishop Brinton (*Sermons* ii.326 and 462) and by a Wycliffite
contemporary (Arnold i.266) (both cited by Burrow).

B6/2, T6/1 The meaning of this passage is slightly obscure but it seems
to be clearer without the conjunction *for* (see apparatus), and BT have
therefore been emended in accordance with the HY reading.

B6/2, T6/1 gostlyche enemys] For the presence of fiends at the death bed see Hoccleve, *Learn to Die* (*EETS*, ES 61, 73, p.203/271-2).

T6/4 H's expansion is a possible reading, but, given that unnecessary expansions are characteristic of H (see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (7)) it has not been felt necessary to emend the reading found in T.

T6/5 as] For H omission of *as* and consequent addition of *And* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (6).

B6/6-7, T6/4-6 for as he.....alle] James 2:10

B6/9, T 6/8 Prestes] For the importance placed by Lollards on the teaching and preaching function of the priest see *Introduction* pp.xcvii-xcviii and for Lollard emphasis on the commandments *Introduction* pp.xciv-xcv. For the preacher's function see also *Rosarium* pp.85-92.

B7/2 T7/3 we beo bailleys] See Luke 16:1-13, the parable of the steward. LV translates the Vulgate *vilicum* as *baili* (EV uses *fermour* but offers *baily* as an alternative in v.1). According to the common interpretation of this parable, each man on earth is a bailif with a particular office to perform (see, for example, the sermon on this text in MS Trinity College Dublin 241, f.4^{ra}ff.). The use of the pronoun 'we' suggests that the passage was originally written by a priest.

T7/4-11/4 pes comaundementis.....ten comaundmentis] Passage corresponding to DI cf. *BVV* p.317/24-35, B10/8ff.

B7/5 Holy Wryt] Exodus 20:1-17.

T7/5 in two bope] see Matthew 22:37-40.

B9/1 ofte rede] For Lollard reading practices see Aston, 'Lollardy and Literacy', p.197ff.

B9/3 ff. For similar exhortations see *DPI* i.327-8, *PC* pp.81-2 The

passage in B shows no sign of the concern over restrictions on the teaching of religious matters evident in *DP* (I.i.327/3-5), which may either result from or anticipate Arundel's Constitutions of 1407-9 (see Hudson, *PR* p.418 and notes).

B9/6 Holy Church] For Lollard views on the nature of the Church see *Introduction* p.cxiii ff. The definition of the Church as 'alle trewe Cristene peple' suggests that the Church referred to here is the first of those described in *LL* (pp.35-44) i.e. not the physical building (p.36/10), nor the members of the present hierarchical Church (p.43/31ff.) but the body of those predestined for salvation (p.35/11ff.). See Hudson, *PR* pp.318-19 where these passages are discussed, and for a similar division see *Rosarium* pp.66/22-67/19. Whether men who were evil (and therefore not predestined for salvation) were part of the Church was one of the questions used in the interrogation of Lollards. See, for example, item 40 in the list of questions in the register of Thomas Polton (Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', p.134). The orthodox answer to the question was 'Yes'.

B9/7 comenyng] Emended in accordance with *comene* B9/20.

B9/8-9 þe fyfþe boke of Holy Wryt] Deuteronomy 6:6-9.

B10/4-5 Be al.....God] Ecclesiasticus 9:22.

B10/8-11/5 in to boþe.....ten commaundementz] Passage corresponding to DI cf. *BVV* p.317/24-35. See note to T7/4 above. For the two-fold division see Matthew 22:37-40.

B10/9, T10/1 as Seint Poul techep] Romans 13:8-10.

T11/2-4 þat.....comaundmentis] H's omission of this passage is due to eyeskip.

B11/9, T11/9 Crist himself seip] Matthew 11:30

B11/10 Seynt Austyn] Not traced but see Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract. iii/19,20 (*PL* 35.1404-5).

B12/9-11, T12/6-8 we beþ.....nou3t al] cf. I Corinthians 13:11-12.

B12/11, T12/8 grounded] See *MED* sense 3(c) 'learned' or possibly sense 3(a) 'fixed'. *Ground* as both noun and verb was frequently used by Lollards to reflect their view that the only true basis or *ground* for belief was scripture. For a discussion of this usage and of the possibility that this was one of a group of words forming a distinctive Lollard vocabulary see Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', pp.171-2.

T13/6 In some ways the H reading here is appealing. However, the BTY reading makes sense if *seye/sei3* is translated as 'considered' and it has therefore been retained.

T13/8 H's addition here is a possible reading, but, as there seems no reason for a TY omission and as H characteristically adds explanatory material (see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (7)), the T version has not been emended.

B15/1 prophete] Malachi 1:6.

B15/4 Seynt Austyn] Augustine, *In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*, tract. ix, c.4 (*PL* 35.2047).

B15/6 Austyn] Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum lxi*, c.20 (*PL* 36.743) (abridged).

B16/1-15 A similar interpretation of the escape from Egypt appears as part of the first commandment commentary in *PC* (pp.26-28), and see also Arnold iii.18-23.

B16/11 as þe Gospel telleþ] Luke 4:33-36.

B16/16 Seynt Austyn] Not traced, but see e.g. Augustine *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract.xli (*PL* 35.1693ff.).

B16/18 in þe Gospel] John 8:34.

B16/22 Jon Crisostome] Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaum, Homilia xxxvii* (PG 56.835). Instead of the simile of the fish, the passage as printed in *PG* contains the following:

Sicut enim videmus in istis mundialibus regnis, quomodo in primis quidem nemo potest facere seipsum regem, sed populus creat sibi regem quem elegerit; cum rex ille fuerit factus et confirmatus in regno, jam habet potestatem in hominibus, et non potest populus jugum ejus de cervice sua repellere: nam primum quidem in potestate populi est, facere sibi regem quem vult, factum autem de regno repellere jam non est in potestate ejus, et sic voluntas populi postea in necessitatem convertitur.

B17/16 þe prophete] Hosea 13:9 cf. EV: 'Thi losse, Yrael; oonly of me thin help'; LV: 'Israel thi perdicioun is of thee; thin help is oneli of me'.

B17/17ff. The discussion on confession here appears to be orthodox; it expresses none of the characteristic Lollard doubts about oral confession to a priest (see *Introduction* p.cxiv ff.). For contrition, confession and satisfaction (all three of which the Church considered necessary) see the tract issued by Bishop Alexander of Stavensby for the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield (*C&S* ii.220), and *BVV* p.171/22ff.

B17/22 alopēd] This is not recorded elsewhere, but it appears to be an ancestor of NE *elope*. *Aloper* did exist in fourteenth century AFr and the *OED* suggests a possible ancestor in ME **alope(n)*, past participle of either **aleapen* or *leapen* (*OED elope*).

B17/23 Paule] I Corinthians 15:10. In this and the preceding verse Paul confesses to the sin of persecuting the Church, demonstrates his repentance, and provides us with an example of how to make satisfaction ('et gratia eius in me vacua non fuit sed abundantius illis omnibus

laboravi'). His acknowledgement that his condition is the result of God's grace exemplifies the avoidance of vain-glory, identified in *BVV* as the greatest of the dangers to beset the newly shriven (*BVV* pp.186-7).

B18/1 *B and so* appears to have been added because the sentence is long and the scribe has lost track of the syntax.

B18/3 *þe apostol]* Ephesians 2:5,8.

B18/7 *Poule]* Titus 3:5.

B18/11 *The boke]* Not identified, but probably a priest's manual. For the rites of baptism, including that of exorcism, see *Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*, section on baptism, printed in translation in E.C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* (London, 1970), pp.231-53, and also *The York Manual*, published by the Surtees Society (vol.63.1*-154*). The spirit is usually described as *immundus*, i.e. 'unclean', but is referred to in Gratian's *Decretum* as *malignus* (iii, *De Consecratione*, D.iv, c.61 (Friedberg i.1383)).

B's discussion of baptism is orthodox, with no hint of distinctively Lollard views. Wyclif distinguished between two kinds of baptism: by water and by fire (i.e. with the Holy Spirit) (*Opera Minora* pp.177-8), and although he did not take a consistent view on whether the former was necessary (compare *Triologus* p.282 and *Sermones* iii.42) it was clear that he thought the second type the more important. Only the predestined were baptised with fire, whereas Judas Iscariot and many other limbs of the devil had been baptised with water (*Opera Minora* p.177, cf. Lollard views on the Church, note to B9/6 above). Some later Lollards believed that baptism was unnecessary if a child was born to Christian parents, while others considered that, while baptism with fire was necessary for

salvation, baptism with water was not (see Hudson, *PR* pp.291-2).

B18/16 ground and begynnyng of alle sacrament3] For baptism as a necessary precondition for other sacraments, especially the Eucharist, see *C&S* ii.634.[1]; Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* iii,q.65,a.3.

B18/17-18 See John 19:33-34. The water and blood issuing from the side of Christ symbolize the baptism and the eucharist; see Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions* pp.61-2; Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tract. cxx (*PL* 35.1953).

B18/20-21 For baptism as representing man's participation in the passion of Christ see Romans 6:3-7. The person being baptised undergoes a kind of burial (cf. the original Greek sense of baptism as a 'going down') and is resurrected into a new life without sin (Cramer p.78; Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* iii, q.66, a.9; Wyclif, *Sermones* iii.332-3).

B18/21 sacrament3] For Lollard views on the sacraments in general see *Introduction* p.cix ff.

B18/21 prayeres] There is no sign here of a distinctively Lollard viewpoint. Lollards often expressed doubts about the value of prayer, seeing it as a possible vehicle for hypocrisy. As one sermon writer puts it, 'And so algatis ristwis lyf ys þe beste in mannys preyere, for such lif preyep betture to God þan hyze voyses of ypocrites' (*EWS* i.456). See also *LL* p.50/29 ff. and note to T3/6 above.

B18/22 Holy Churche] See note to B9/6 above. The definition of the Church here appears to be orthodox, i.e. that it consists of the members of the present hierarchical Church.

B19/5 For the crossing of the Red Sea as a figure of baptism (with the death of the Egyptians symbolising the death of sin) see Augustine, *Sermones de Diversis*, *Sermo* ccclxiii (*PL* 39.1635).

B19/13 Holy Wryt] Deuteronomy 6:20-25 (part summary).

B19/16-17 wytnesses, sermonyes and domes] Translating the Vulgate 'testimonia haec et praecepta atque iudicia' i.e., according to the *New English Bible*, 'precepts, statutes and laws'. For the various divisions see Wyclif, *DMD* p.53.

T20/1 oonhed] According to Augustine the Father is the principle of the whole divinity, 'totius divinitatis, vel, si melius dicitur, deitatis, principium Pater est' (*De Trinitate* iv, c.20.29 (*PL* 42.908)). Alternative reasons for relating the first commandment to the Father were possible. Thus, according to Wyclif, the first commandment concerns God's majesty 'que originaliter est in patre' (*DMD* p.200/25).

B21/2, T21/2 pat.....god] cf. Wyclif, *Sermones* i.90/15-17, *BVV* p.318/8-9.

B21/7, T21/5 myrours] cf. Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum cxviii*, *Sermo* iv (*PL* 37.1510), discussing James 1:23-5.

B21/10, T21/7-8 Seynt Jon seyep] I John 2:15-16.

T22/2 H's reading is in some ways appealing, but it could also be an error resulting from anticipation of a description of a third kind of love and it has not therefore been felt necessary to emend T.

B22/3-4 Seynt Bernard] Bernard, *Pro Dominica V Post Pentecostem*, *Sermo* iii.5 (*PL* 183.343B) (slightly abridged).

B22/14 ryche men beþ slowe] cf. *HS* p.143/4241ff.

B23/4-7 Pis is vnderstonde.....here God] Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.318/5-9.

B23/6-7 what.....God] See note to B21/2 above.

B23/9, T 23/2 seyþ Poul] Philippians 3:19.

B25/11, T25/2 wordlyche] Although HY *temporalle* may appear to be

marginally the more difficult reading, this has not been felt to be a clear enough case of error to warrant emendation.

B25/6-7 londes.....catel] cf. *BVV* p.318/35.

B25/12, T 25/3 Poule] Colossians 3:5.

B26/1-2, T 26/1-2 þe fend is kyng of alle proute children] Job 41:26.

B26/3, T26/3 Criste Ihesu byddeþ] Matthew 5:5.

B26/4-27/3 And so þay þat setteþ.....deppur in helle] passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* 319/5-25.

B26/8-13 he þouste.....put of helle] Isaiah 14:13-15.

B26/13 Seynt Gregory] This reference comes from the DI version cf. *BVV* p.319/17-18: 'And þefore seiþ seint gregori. *In libello de conflictu uiciorum & uirtutum*.' The authorship of this work is, however, in doubt. It was often thought to be by Augustine and appears as part of his collected works in *PL*, but with a note suggesting that the actual author may have been Ambrose Autpert, abbot of St. Vincent on the Volturno near Beneventum (*PL* 40.1091-2). For this quotation see *PL* 40.1093. B27/13-29/12 This section is taken from the Gratian, *Decretum* ii, C.xxvi, q.vii, cc.15-16 (Friedberg i.1045-6). The material also appears in the ME *Rosarium* under the heading *Sortilegi* (G f.121^v), but the *Rosarium* version is less full than that found in B. See also *Floretum* f.296^v. For the attributions to Augustine see notes to the relevant sections of the Decretals.

B27/15-22 For Seynt.....cursed] Gratian, *Decretum* ii, C.xxvi, c.15 (Friedberg i.1045).

B27/23-28/3 Also.....eche to oper] Gratian, *Decretum* ii, C.xxvi, c.16 (Friedberg i.1045) (with explanatory additions).

B27/24-25 'Egypcians'.....'dysmale dayes'] Egyptian days were two

days in each month linked with the exile of the Jews in Egypt and therefore considered to be particularly unlucky. 'Dysmale' (<OFr *dis mal*, 'unlucky days') was an alternative term.

B28/2 kalendys of Januarie] i.e. New Year's day. For the giving of 'hansel' (a present given especially in the New Year as a good luck token) see *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* p.3/66. For objections to placing too much faith in such tokens see *HS* p.14/369, and *DP* p.182/22 ff. Objections to magic and superstition were traditional in commentaries on the first commandment, see e.g. *LFC* p.34/175-81, *DP* p.167-8, *HS* p.13/339ff.

B28/19-29/12 Also.....dayeþ] Gratian, *Decretum* ii, C.xxvi, c.16 (Friedberg i.1045) (partial summary).

B29/10 Poule] I Corinthians 10:31

B29/20 as þe prophete seyþ] Psalm 95:5, cited by Rabanus, *De Magicis Artibus* (PL 110.1097) in a passage quoted in Gratian's *Decretum* ii, C.xxvi, q.ii, c.7 (Friedberg, i.1023) where it is attributed to Augustine, hence the attribution in the *Floretum* (f.295^v).

B30/7ff., T30/11ff. For Lollard attitudes to images and discussion of the B and HTY treatment see *Introduction* p.cv ff.

T30/11-31/1 Bvt here moeuen.....opere places] cf. Holcot, *Super Librum Sapientie*, cap. xii, *lectio* clvii B. Holcot's discussion of images, of which the T passage (slightly abridged) is the beginning, is quoted more fully in the *Floretum* (f.332^r, section 10) and in the Latin *Rosarium* (f.152^{rb}). A fuller version of the Holcot passage appears in B (see below note to B35/18).

B31/1 Bede] Bede, *Liber de Templo Salomonis*, c.19 (PL 91.790C-791C) (partial summary). This passage is quoted by Grosseteste, *De*

Decem Mandatis pp.13-15 and by Wyclif, *DMD* pp.159-60. The form of the abridgement, together with the use of 'he seyþ' (B31/1-2 cf. *DMD* p.159/13), makes it clear that the passage has been drawn from Wyclif. B32/11 **worschepe hem as God]** i.e. with *latría*. For the definition of *latría* as reverence due to God alone, of *dulia* as reverence due to creatures, and of *yperdulia* as reverence due to Christ, in accordance with his double nature as both creator and creature, see *Rosarium*, G f.6^r. B32/18-33/6 **For a gret clerk.....as God]** As Margaret Aston has pointed out, this too is Wyclif, see Aston, 'Lollards and Images', p.154, *DMD* p.156/14ff., passage beginning: 'Et patet quod ymagines tam bene quam male possunt fieri'. The same passage also appears in the *Floretum* (f.331^v/13ff.), in the Latin *Rosarium* (f.151^{ra-b}) and in the English *Rosarium* (p.99/30ff.), although the last has no reference. Note the similar view expressed in T32/1. T33/1-2 **good to siche men.....þei shulden ellis]** For a similar view see *DPI* i.90/22-3, *Rosarium* 101/4-10, citing Gregory, *Epistolarum Libri Quatuordecim* xi, epist.13 (*PL* 77.1129). For fuller use of this passage by B see B35/1ff. and note. For the view that the use of images as books would not be necessary if priests would give a better example, both by teaching and in their lives, see Thorpe's testimony, *TWT* p.58/1133-8. T33/6 **coueitise of prestis]** i.e. they benefited from the offerings made to images, see below T 34/3. For a similar complaint see Thorpe's testimony, *TWT* p.58/1138-40. For the money wasted adorning images see Wyclif, *Sermones* i.92. For the decoration of images to obtain more money from pilgrims who travelled to see them, see *Rosarium* 100/13-16.

T33/6-7 **dede stokkis]** For similar descriptions of images see *SEWW* p.88/199, *DPI* i.i.105/31ff.

T33/7-9 cf. Wyclif *Sermones* i.91/18-19 'securum foret, ut in lege veteri, quod omnes tales ymagines sint delete', quoted in the *Floretum* (f.166^r/6) as part of the discussion of the first commandment.

T34/6 **Seynt Poul]** Colossians 2:9.

T34/7 **breed of þe auter]** See *Introduction* p.cix ff., T 101/8-12 below and note.

T34/12 **charmes and many þingis]** See B28/2 above and note.

T34/14 **bullis and absoluciouns]** i.e. indulgences. These were of course an easy target and subject to orthodox as well as Lollard attack (see e.g. Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*).

B35/1 **Seynt Gregorye]** Gregory, *Epistolarum Libri Quatuordecim* xi, *epist.*13 (*PL* 77.1128) (partial summary). This passage is cited in Gratian's *Decretum* iii, *De Consecratione*, D.iii, c.27 (Friedberg i.1360). See also *Rosarium* 100/35ff.

B35/12 **anoper lettre]** Actually the same letter. This error may have originated in the *Rosarium*, all versions of which state that this passage comes from letter 69 rather than letter 13 (*Rosarium* 101/10 and note).

B35/18 **a gret clerke]** Holcot, see above note to T30/11-31/1. The authorship of this passage was pointed out by Margaret Aston ('Lollards and Images', p.155).

B36/1 **in forme of bred]** For the use of this expression see *Introduction* p.cxii ff.

B36/10 **seyntes]** The opinions expressed here are orthodox. For Wyclif's doubts about more recently canonised saints see *Sermones* ii.1-2, part quoted below (see B 81/2-5, T81/2-6 and notes). The author of

the *Twenty-Five Articles* observes that many of the saints whose holidays the Church celebrates are now in hell (Arnold iii.466/11-14).
B36/12 Seynt Laurence] One of the seven deacons who served the Roman Church, St. Laurence was martyred in 258 following the edicts against Christians published by the Emperor Valerian on the fourth day after the death of the Pope, St. Sixtus. According to the tradition, Laurence, anticipating his death, gave all his money to the poor, and the prefect of Rome, seeing such generosity and thinking he must be wealthy, instructed him to hand over the wealth of the Church. Laurence gathered together all the poor, maimed, lepers etc. who supported the Church and, at the appointed time, presented them to the prefect, maintaining that they *were* the wealth of the Church. As a punishment he was slowly roasted to death on a specially made gridiron. See Butler, iii.297-9, *Speculum Sacerdotale* pp.179-82.

B36/15 Seynte Kateryne] St. Catherine was born to a patrician family in Alexandria and was converted by a vision of the Virgin and Child. She was condemned to death by Maxentius, but not before she had converted his wife. The spiked wheel on which she was sentenced to be killed broke, its spikes flying off and killing many of the onlookers, and she was then beheaded (hence the sword as well as the wheel). See Butler, iv.420-1, *Speculum Sacerdotale* pp.243-4.

B37/1 worschep þat is onlyche ypropred to God] i.e. *latria*, see B32/11 above and note.

B37/4 Seynt Austyn] Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum xcvi*, c.12 (PL 37/1245).

B37/8 Holy Wryt] Revelations 22:8-9.

B37/11 þe conscile of Thobye] Tobias 4:16.

B37/14 **þe meke.....of God]** For the definition of man as the true image of God, see pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones* v, c.23 (PG 1.1341), quoted in *Rosarium* (p.99/7-29), the *Floretum* (f.332^r/7ff) and in B40/14-17 below. See also Arnold iii.463/11ff., *SEWW*, p.85/91-6.

B37/15-16 **Seynt Jame]** James 5:16.

B37/17 **þe wyse man]** Ecclesiasticus 29:15.

B38/1 **Seynt Bernard]** Pseudo-Bernard, *Tractatus de Interiori Domo*, cc.38-9, sections 79-80 (PL 184.546D-547D).

B39/17 **Crysostom]** Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaum*, hom. xxxv (PG 56.832), quoted in *Rosarium* p.99/1-2.

B39/21 **Seynt Clement]** Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones* v, c.23 (PG 1.1341), quoted in *Rosarium*, (p.99/12ff).

B40/10 **in þe Gospel]** Matthew 25:40,45.

B40/14 **Seynt Clement]** *loc.cit.*, see *Rosarium* p.99/24ff.

B40/18-19 **nou3t....seyntes]** For a similar view see *Rosarium* 100/33ff.: 'Ymages of seyntis bene no3t to be dispised' and cf. *Floretum* f.331^v/2.

B41/5 **holy prophetes]** See e.g. Isaiah 46:5-7, Habakkuk 2:18-19.

B41/15 **as þe boke seyþ]** i.e. the Bible, see B41/17-20.

B41/15-16 **as clerkes moweþ schewe]** See e.g. Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica*, *Sermo* 32, section 2 (PL 183.946), Wyclif, *DMD* p.168/16ff..

B41/17-18 **by þe prophete Osee he spekep]** Hosea 2:19.

B41/20-21 **a gret clerke]** Wyclif, *DMD* p.168/19-22 (see notes to B43/10 and 43/13 below).

B42/9 **prophetes]** e.g. Jeremiah 3:8-9, Ezekiel 16:17, Hosea 3:1.

B42/10 **Seynt Jame]** James 4:4.

B43/4 **Jeremye]** Jeremiah 3:1.

B43/10 **a gret clerke]** Grosseteste, *De Decem Mandatis* p.18/8-9,

quoted by Wyclif, *DMD* p.168/28-30.

B43/13 Crisostome] Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum*, hom. xlii (*PG* 56.873) (abridged), quoted by Wyclif, *DMD* p.169/10-16. Since the passage from Grosseteste quoted above and the passage from Chrysostom occur together in *DMD*, and since the Chrysostom passage is abridged in exactly the same way in both B and *DMD*, it seems clear that *DMD* was an intermediate source for these passages.

B45/1 Crist seyb] John 14:24.

B45/3 Ezechiel] Ezekiel 18:20.

B45/7-8 a gret clerke] Wyclif, *DMD* p.184/19-21.

B46/12 ff. cf. B51/7ff., T51/7ff.

B47/4 onheede] See T20/1 above and note.

B47/12-13, T47/2-3 O Lord.....mesureth loue] See Wyclif, *DMD* p.96/22: 'Sed cum nihil amatur nisi cognitum, patet quod ordo vere noticie de Deo inducit rationem in eius amorem'.

B47/13 sybpe] B *suche* has been emended in accordance with the HTY reading and with the demands of the syntax.

B47/15, T47/5 seyb Poul] I Corinthians 2:8.

B48/3, T48/3 Moyses in a busche] Exodus 3:2. For the persistent desire of Moses (and mankind in general) to be permitted to perceive God with the senses, see Exodus 33:18-20 and the discussion of this passage in *DMD* p.100. For a similar discussion of the sensible and the insensible see Wyclif, *Sermones* iv.412, *DMD* p.96/28ff. (a continuation of the passage already quoted, see note to B47/12-13, T47/2-3 above, but without the reference to Moses or the examples of health and life).

T48/6 feele] For H see *ne fele* see chapter on the textual tradition,

Errors in H (4).

B48/8-9, T48/8-9 **But for..... þe lasse]** This sentence occurs in some versions of *PC* where it is attributed to 'a greet doctour' (Brady, 'Lollard Interpolations' pp.188-9). The same opinion is expressed by Wyclif, *DMD* pp.96ff., a discussion which includes the view that 'istas imperfectas noticias consequiter proporcionabiliter dileccio' (*DMD* p.100/23-4), but the shared wording of the B/HTY and *PC* passages suggests an intermediate or an alternative source.

B49/4-6, T49/4-6. **And so.....in himsylf]** For this definition of the Trinity, interpreting the phrase *Dominus Deus tuus*, see Wyclif, *DMD* p.82

B49/6ff., T49/6ff. **he mot nede be þre þynges.....]** See Wyclif, *DMD* pp.98-9, quoting Grosseteste: '*Tria sunt, inquit, invisibilia Dei; scilicet potencia, sciencia et benignitas, ex quibus procedunt omnia*'.

B50/2-3, T50/2-3 **Bot sybbe.....bodylyche wyttes]** cf. note to B48/3, T48/3.

T50/4 **soundely]** For H *sumdele* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (5).

T50/4 **bodili þingis]** For H *bodili wites* and *bodili þings* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (4).

B50/4-5 **soundelyche.....hem]** For this emendation, see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in B (1).

T50/5 H provides additional material here (see apparatus). However, as unnecessary additions are characteristic of H (see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (7)) and as there appears to be no reason for a TY omission, T has not been emended.

B50/6, T50/7 **þe secunde.....þe Sone]** See Wyclif, *DMD* p.200/21ff.

The association of the second commandment with Christ results from his characterisation as the Word made flesh (John 1:14). Thus, according to Wyclif, the commandment concerned with the name of God pertains to the Son 'quia secundum Augustinum in libro suo de grammatica nomen et verbum sunt idem, et per consequens nomen divinum est realiter verbum Dei' (*DMD* p.200/27-30).

B50/8ff, T50/8ff. Exodus 20:7.

B51/1-3, T51/1-3 **þe name of God.....non oþer]** See Wyclif, *DMD* p.187/4-6 (i.e., as in B/HTY, the initial section of the discussion on the second commandment): 'Et autem nomen proprium secundum Linconiensem dicto LXII colleccio proprietatum rei quam non est in alio reperire.' cf. also *Sermones* i.39/1-17, *Sermones* iii.496/29-38.

B51/4, T51/4 **seyþ Poul]** Philippians 2:6.

B51/7-52/4, T51/7-52/4. See B14/4-15/5 and notes.

B52/6, T52/6 **Criste techep]** Matthew 5:37.

T53/5 Although HY *comys* (see apparatus) may appear to be the more difficult reading, it could be an explanatory correction and as T *is* corresponds more closely to the later version of Christ's words (cf. T53/7), this reading has been retained.

B53/5, T53/5 **of yuel]** Matthew 5:37: 'a malo est'. Swearing is not evil in itself but is the result of evil, of the fact that we are in a state of sin rather than in a state of innocence and are therefore not automatically to be believed (*DMD* p.202/15-22). Swearing can also result from the evil of the listener if he is unwilling to be convinced without it, 'ab audientis incredulitate, que mala est' (Grosseteste, *De Decem Mandatis* p.28/2-3 cf. Wyclif, *DMD* p.202/30-32). See also Augustine, *De Mendacio* i, c.16.37 (*PL* 40.512). It is thus not evil to swear 'veraciter, utiliter et

honeste' (Wyclif, *DMD* p.202/18). The attitude to swearing here is not particularly extreme when compared, for example, with Walter Brut's view that 'Non est licitum in aliquo casu iurare' (Hereford register, Trefnant p.374, passage discussed by Hudson, *PR* p.371). It should, however, be noted that the question of swearing an oath by a creature is not discussed. For Lollard objections to the latter see Wyclif, *DMD* p.202/5ff., *TWT* p.74/1637-8 and note.

B53/6-7, T53/6-7 God.....apostoles] For instances of God swearing see Genesis 22:16, Isaiah 45:23, Jeremiah 49:13, 51:14, Amos 6:8 etc. For Christ swearing see Wyclif, *DMD* p.196 and *Opus Evangelicum* iii.212, both citing John 3:3. For swearing by Paul see Galatians 1:20, II Corinthians 11:31, Romans 1:9, all cited by Wyclif, *DMD* pp.194-5.

B53/8 For the emendations in this line see chapter on the textual tradition, possible BH joint errors (2).

B53/9, T53/9 Jeremye þe prophete] Jeremiah 4:2.

BT54/4 If BHTY *and* (see apparatus) is retained, the sentence does not make sense. *and* has therefore been omitted and *bot/but* (BT54/3) taken to mean 'except for'.

B54/5, T54/5 þes grete swereres] Complaints about excuses made by swearers were a common theme, cf. *PC* pp.39-40, *DPI* i.227-9, Wyclif *Sermones* iv.415, *DMD* p.203ff., *TWT* p.76/1712-77/1725.

B54/9 greuouse] For this emendation, see chapter on the textual tradition, possible BHY joint errors (2).

T55/2 or] For this emendation, see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in T (4).

B55/4-5 and make.....þy fame] For this emendation, see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in B (1).

BT55/5 **trewe man]** Anne Hudson suggests that the term *trewe men* may have been part of a distinctively Lollard language ('A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', pp.166-7), originating in Wyclif's own reference to himself as *quidam fidelis*, and emphasising the need to be true to God's law. However, the obvious relevance of the term in the context of keeping your word makes it difficult to draw such a conclusion here. See, however, 'trewe men' (B/T 106/9).

B55/6-56/21 **Me þynkeþ.....harde vengeance]** Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* 321/2-37.

B56/8 **Seynt Poul]** Philippians 2:10-11.

B56/21 **the wyse man]** Ecclesiasticus 23:12.

B57/6 **Poul seyb]** Hebrews 13:14.

B57/11 **þe prophete]** Psalm 49:12. For a similar gloss on this passage see Rolle's *Psalter* p.176, 'and *thaire* sepulcres ere *thare* howsis. *that* is, *thai* wene *that thaire* faire and dere *graues* may last til menyng of *thaim* euemare. *thof thai* be in hell. noght in sepulcres: for *thare the* saule is. *thare* is *the* mast parte of *the* man.'

T58/4-5 H's omission here appears to be due to eyeskip from one *his* to another.

B58/4-10, T58/4-10 A similar argument is put forward by Wyclif, *DMD* pp.187-8. Quoting Exodus 3:14, 'Ego sum qui sum', Wyclif asserts that the name of God is *esse*. He further argues with the support of Jerome (*Epistola* xv, (*PL* 22.357)) that only God exists 'substantialiter'.

Everyone else, 'fidelis vel infidelis', only exists by assuming God's name, i.e. by participating in his *esse*, cf. Aquinas *ST* i,q.61,a.1 : 'Solus enim Deus est suum esse: in omnibus autem aliis differt essentia rei et esse eius... Et ex hoc manifestum est quod solus Deus est *ens* per suam

essentiam: omnia vero alia sunt entia per participationem'.

T58/9 For H *trew* see the chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (2).

T58/10-59/1 **sip.....eende]** H's omission of this material is due to eyeskip.

B59/6-7, T59/6-7 This passage is taken from Augustine, *De Trinitate* x, c.10.18 (PL 42.983), but see also Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica*, *Sermo* xi (PL 183.826B). It is possible that the reference to Bernard has been lost from HTY, but, given B's frequent citations of Bernard in his independent passages (see e.g. B22/4, 38/4), it seems more likely that the reference originates with B.

B59/8, T59/7 **as þe Gospel techep]** Matthew 22:37, Mark 12:30, Luke 10:27.

B61/2ff., T61/3ff. The reference here is to the spiritual house, i.e. the Church, see Proverbs 9:1: 'Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum,' glossed in LV as follows: '*Wisdom, etc*; that is, Goddis Sone.....; *an hous*; that is, holy chirche, which he bildide bi word and ensaumple in manhed takun.'

B61/2, T61/3 **to wandre wyselyche]** See Proverbs 9:6 'et ambulate per vias prudentiae' and cf. LV: '*of prudence*; that is, of comaundementis and councelis of God'. See also Colossians 4:5 'In sapientia ambulate' and, for similar instructions to walk or wander in the ways of the Lord or his commandments, Leviticus 18:4, 26:3, Deuteronomy 5:33. For the interpretation of the verb *ambulare* as an instruction to avoid idleness see Wyclif, *Sermones* iii.166, where he makes the following comment on Ephesians 5:2, 'ambulate in dilectione': 'non ociari ut segnes nec adhuc quiescere benefice in termino bravii et beati, sed ambulare continue merendo ecclesie ut viantes.'

B61/3, T61/4 **ydelnesse ys dampned]** The Bible's first instruction to

work occurs in Genesis 3:19. For the comment that those who will not work should not eat, see II Thessalonians 3:8-10. A number of such passages are listed in the *Rosarium* under the heading *Labor* (G ff.60^v-62^r). The failure to work was one of the most common Wycliffite accusations against the friars, see e.g. Wyclif *Polemical Works* i.197, *SEWW* p.95/68ff, Arnold iii.234, 371. Lollard suspects were questioned on this topic, see Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', p.134, item 17. B61/9ff., T61/9ff. For the effect of giving the cure of souls to a prelate who is 'vnmysty, vnkonnyng or nost wyll yng gouerne' see *Rosarium*, G f.105^r. The same manuscript states that the office of a priest is to know the law of our Lord, to act in accordance with that law, and to answer questions concerning it. If he does not know this law he proves himself not to be a priest of our Lord (f.113^r/5-8). Hudson points out that the name *prelate* often has condemnatory overtones when used in Lollard writings as an equivalent for 'bishop' ('A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', pp.172-3).

B62/1-2, T62/1-2 **pre maner of office**] This division into the three estates is the traditional one, cf. Mann p.3, *MED estat* definitions 14a,b, R. Mohl, *The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (New York, 1933), pp.97-139. The last includes a discussion of Wycliffite treatments of this topic (pp.100-2). For a similar description of the duties of the three estates see *Jack Upland* p.54/11-17.

B62/3-4, T62/3 **lest of despense**] cf. Arnold iii.213: 'Opy n techynge and Goddis lawe, old and newe, opyn ensauple of Cristis lif and his glorious apostlis.....schulde stire alle prestis and religious to lyve in gret mekenesse and wilful povert of þe gospel'. For further emphasis on Christ's example and for Old Testament support for clerical poverty see

Wyclif, *Triologus* pp.297-9. For Lollard attitudes to clerical wealth and endowment see *Introduction* p.c ff.

T62/5 if] Emended in accordance with the BHY reading. Although it is possible that *And* here might mean 'if', there is no evidence elsewhere in T for such a usage.

T62/5 wittingly] Emended in accordance with B which is the more difficult reading and which also makes better sense.

B62/7, T62/7 Antecrist] cf. von Nolcken, *Rosarium* p.107: 'The concept of Antichrist was extremely useful to Wyclif and his followers, and proved flexible enough to embrace several definitions. Antichrist was ultimately for them the source or symbol of all evil, and wherever anything was to be denounced could be used with little precision'. For the Pope as Antichrist see *SEWW* p.122/2-7. *LL* describes the court of Rome as the head of Antichrist, archbishops and bishops as his body and the sects of monks, canons and friars as his venomous tail (p.16/10-15). von Nolcken suggests (*loc.cit.*) that as far as Wyclif and his followers were concerned the concept of Antichrist was not normally associated with an apocalyptic vision, but see M. Wilks, 'Wyclif and the Great Persecution,' *SCH, Subsidia* 10.39-63.

B62/9ff., T62/9ff. For Lollard views on the relationship between the Church and the secular leader and for the obligations of the latter to correct errant clergy see Hudson, *PR* pp.362-66, *Introduction* p.civ Wyclif condemns clerical simonists and apostates as heretics and cites canon law to the effect that temporal lords have a duty to destroy such heretics, since those who cease to oppose a manifest crime are thereby associated with it (*Polemical Works* ii.431-2, and see Gratian's *Decretum* ii, C.ii, q.vii, c.55 (Friedberg i.501)).

T63/1 haþ vencushid] For H *haue ourcomen* see the chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (3).

T63/5 shal] For the use of 'shall' to express obligation see Visser III.i.§1486. Given the possibility of such a meaning, it has not been felt necessary to emend in accordance with BH 'should'.

B63/7, T63/6-7 þat God putteþ nouzt yn] See B126/3-5, T126/5-7 and note.

T64/5 stondip in] For H *is* see the chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (3).

B65/2, T65/2 turne it to pryuey raueyn] Compare Wyclif, *Polemical Works* i.149: 'Unde iste videtur locus blasphemie heresis, quo anticristi discipuli seducunt multum populum et spoliant stolidos de virtutibus et meritoriis laboribus et singulariter de bonis temporalibus pro suffragiis false fictis', a passage which forms part of a discussion on the deceptions of the Church concerning ways of escaping purgatory such as indulgences and alms given in perpetuity.

T65/8 a new lawe] i.e. Canon law as opposed to God's law.

T66/1-4 But Antecrist.....þe fend] i.e. Lords are deceived by their priests so they lack heavenly help and their worldly lordship is undermined by clergy who refuse to recognise it.

B68/6, T68/6 haue mynde] cf. T 158/2-12. Although you only keep the Sabbath on one particular day in the week, the intention must always be present.

B69/1 Emended in accordance with the HTY reading. There are only seven people in total (see B 67/3-5 above).

B70/1-72/2, T70/1-72/2 Bot here may men doute.....þe eyzteþe day]

This passage also occurs as part of a treatise on the change of the

Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday to be found in MS BL Harley 2339, of which it forms the initial section (ff.104^v/11-105^v/16). For a discussion of this manuscript see A.I Doyle, 'A Treatise of the Three Estates', *Dominican Studies* iii (1950), pp.351-8. Doyle suggests that the treatise on the Sabbath is 'directed against an aberration.....that might be expected to follow from the principles of Wycliffite scriptural interpretation' (pp.352-3), but in fact the section which Harley 2339 shares with B/TYH appears to be a summary of part of Wyclif's discussion of the Sabbath (*DMD* p.208ff.). It is not possible to determine whether one version was drawn from the other and they may have shared an independent source. However, the fact that the B/TYH version continues, as does *DMD*, with a discussion of servile work may suggest that the B/TYH version was the source for the Harley 2339 version rather than *vice versa*.

T70/8 **lay]** For H *restid* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (4).

T71/2 **kepten]** Emended in accordance with the BHY reading.

Although *kepen* (referring to contemporary Jewish practice) is a possible reading, the context suggests that the past tense is preferable.

B71/2, T71/2 **þe eyzteþe age]** See Wyclif, *DMD* p.211 ff. This account of the ages of the world is drawn from St. Augustine, see *De Genesis Contra Manichaeos* i, c.23 (*PL* 34.190-93), *De Diversis Quaestionibus* lxxxiii.i, q.58 (*PL* 40.43), and cf. Burrow (1986), pp.80-5. In order to obtain seven ages before the day of judgement, Wyclif has added an extra age of rest viz. the age of those resting incompletely in purgatory (in our MSS the time of rest which 'remyp wiþ þes sixe' (T71/8-9) and cf. *DMD* p.212 l.2). For Wyclif's attachment to the seven-

age scheme because it made it possible for him to claim that he was living in the Saturn-day of the world week, i.e. the worst of all times, see Wilks, 'Wyclif and the Great Persecution' p.49.

B72/4, T72/5 syþe.....synne] cf. Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium*, tr. xxx (*PL* 35.1635), cited by Wyclif, *DMD* p.216. T's version here is closer to the *DMD* reading than is B's cf. *DMD* p.217 ll.11-12: 'opus peccati est opus maxime servile'.

B72/5, T72/6 Crist hymself] John 8:34, cited by Wyclif, *DMD* p.217.

B73/2-4 þat letteþ.....moost in] For this emendation, see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in B (1).

BT73 6 goynge to þe plowe] For exceptions made for agricultural work see B. Harvey, 'Work and *Festa Ferianda* in Medieval England', *JEH* 23 (1972), pp 289-308. For exceptions made specifically for ploughing see the statutes of Bishop Fulk Basset (*C&S* ii.656, item 105) and the statutes of Bishop Walter de Cantilupe for Worcester (*C&S* ii.324). These exceptions, however, apply to particular feast days and not to Sundays and, although the use of ploughing as an example probably arose from such constitutions, the argument here is simply that some w rks are not as bad as others; cf. the following passage from Augustine quoted by Wyclif and in the *Floretum*: 'Meliusfaceret Iudeus in sabbato in agro suo aliquid utile quam in theatro sediciosus existeret.' (*DMD* p.222, *Floretum* f.99^v, Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis* ix, c.3 (*PL* 38.77)).

B73 9-10, T 73/10 no more þan a myle] cf. Wyclif, *DMD* p.224, defining the *iter sabbati* of Acts 1:12 (i.e. from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives).

B73/10, T74/1 nedful] For similar accounts of what is permissible, see

DMD p.217/7-11, Gregory, *Decretals* ii, *tit.ix*, c.3 (Friedberg ii.271).

B74/5, T74/5 **false.....Criste]** Matthew 12, cited by Wyclif, *DMD* 217/27-32.

B75/1-2, T 75/1-2 **and punysche men for hem]** Whether Sundays and the principal feast days were to be observed was one of the questions asked at Lollard interrogations (Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', p.134, item 38) and his views on the matter were one reason for the condemnation of William White at the diocesan synod in Norwich on 13th September 1428 (*FZ* 428, item xxii). For White's teaching on this topic see Aston, 'William White's Lollard Followers', pp.94-5 and for variation in Lollard belief see Hudson, *PR* pp.147-8. The reference to punishment need not necessarily, however, imply punishment of Lollards. As Anne Hudson has pointed out (*PR* p.147) concern about the lack of Sabbath observance predated Lollardy. Thus the synodal statutes of Bishop Fulk Basset for the diocese of London (1245x1259) provide for the punishment of those attending markets on Sundays and feast days (*C&S* ii.647), while the statutes of Bishop Peter Quinel for the diocese of Exeter in 1287 forbid such behaviour on pain of excommunication (*C&S* ii.1021).

B75/2, T75/2 **and do worse ous-syf]** For examples see *DMD* pp.220-1.

B75/9, T75/9 **discrecioun and studye in Godes lawe]** Perhaps with the implication that attendance at Church is unnecessary and that reading the Bible for oneself is preferable to listening to a priest; see *Introduction* pp.cxvi-cxvii.

T76/2 **clerkis of þe chapitre]** The suggestion is that Church law is less reliable than God's law; cf. Arnold ii.76 where the writer complains about the new chapter laws which prevent criticism ('snybbing') of the

new orders; Arnold ii.400 where we are told that 'men of þe chapitre lawe chargen more traveile on þe Sondaie þan þei done a deedli synne, done þanne or in oþir tyme'.

B76/2, T 76/2 **medful]** cf. *DMD* p.217/17: 'possunt bene fieri', which suggests that T 'nedeful' is an error.

B76/5-79/22 **For it ys.....þe blisse of heuene]** Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.322/6-324/19.

B76/13-15 **Bot it semep.....deueles seruyse]** cf. *DMD* 219/15-19: 'Et patet quomodo dies festi ex condicionibus in nobis oppositis vertuntur in dies lugubres.'

B77/7 **Seynt Bernard]** Pseudo-Bernard, *Meditationes Piissimae de Cognitione Humanae Conditionis* c.ii (*PL* 184.488B).

B77/11-12 **as holy doctores seyþ]** See Wyclif *DMD* p.219 citing Grosseteste. The three ways described by B correspond to the three components of confession (contrition, confession of mouth and satisfaction). See note to B17/17 above.

B77/15-17 **noþer to.....bysynesse]** For the use of churches for the sale of goods see J.G. Davies, *The Secular Use of Church Buildings* (1968), pp.55-6. The practice was periodically condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities, e.g. by Thoresby and Braybrooke (cited by Davies).

B77/21 **as clerkes seye]** See Grosseteste, *De Decem Mandatis* p.32/24-7, cited by Wyclif, *DMD* p.210/17-21.

B78/21-79/5 **And yf.....acord]** This division between priests and laity, with its emphasis on the need for the priest to possess authority, is orthodox. Believing that anyone, even a deacon or a presbyter, was permitted to preach without authority was one of the errors of which Wyclif was convicted at the 1382 Blackfriars Council (*FZ* p.280, item

xv), and questions on this topic were asked at Lollard interrogations: see Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', p.133, item 12.

B79/17 in þe Gospel] Luke 14:13-14 The passage in the Vulgate reads as follows: 'voca pauperes, debiles, claudos, caecos' i.e. instead of 'poor' qualifying the other categories it forms a category of its own. Lollard use of 'poor' as a qualifying adjective in this context has been noted by Aston ('"Caim's Castles"', p.70,n.22). In addition to the references given by Aston see Taylor's sermon, *TWT* p.15/451-9 and note. As B states here and as Wendy Scase points out (*'Piers Plowman' and the New Anticlericalism* (Cambridge, 1989), p.63, noted by Hudson, *TWT* p.100), this usage derives from Fitzralph, see e.g. the *Defensio Curatorum* in Trevisa's translation, p.88/8ff.: 'Þame pore men þat beþ stalworþe and stronge schulde nouȝt be cleped to þe feeste of beggers, for þei mowe quyte hit wiþ her trauail. Noþer riche feble men, noþer riche halt men, noþer riche blynde men schuld be cleped to þe feeste of beggers, for þei mowe quyte hit wiþ her catel.' The reference to Fitzralph is drawn from the DI version; see *BVV* p.324/15. For Fitzralph as a Lollard saint see Hudson, *PR* pp.171-2; Walsh (1981), pp.452-68.

T80/5 haliday cloþis] For Wycliffite objections to costly clerical clothing see *DOP* p.434, *LL* p.41/19. As Arundel recognised in his interrogation of William Thorpe (*TWT* p.73/4-7), Lollards considered such dress to be evidence of clerical pride, and it was also, as the context of the Thorpe passage shows, connected with the vexed question of the misuse of tithes.

T80/11-12 foure greete feestis] i.e. Passover (Exodus 12:14 etc.), Pentecost (Exodus 23:16 etc.), Trumpets (Leviticus 23:24,25), and Tabernacles (Leviticus 23:24).

T80/14 freedom of his lawe] See *MED freedom*, sense 1b(c): 'the inward compulsion of the New Testament (as a substitute for the external compulsion of the Mosaic law)'.
80/14-15 **Seynt Poul techip]** Galatians 4:8-10

B81/2-5, T81/2-6 The source of both these passages, i.e. the 'gret clerk' is Wyclif, see *Sermones* ii.1/7-15. The T version has been emended to include this reference which is only found in B. The corresponding passage in Wyclif reads as follows: 'In cuius signum in quacunque oracione sanctorum Deus principaliter adoratur, ut ad oracionem talis sancti populus adiuvetur. Et in signum quod hoc fit per mediatorem Dei et hominum Christum Jesum, oraciones tales finiuntur communiter *per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.*'

B81/4 plesynge] For this emendation (i.e. the omission of B so see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in B (4).

T81/5-6 seien.....oper] The omission of this passage by H appears to be due to eyeskip.

T81/7-8 God tauzte þe Iewes] Leviticus 23:32.

T82/1 as clerkis seien] See Wyclif, *DMD*, p.210, citing Grosseteste. **B82/8ff., T82/9ff.** cf. *EWS* iii.11/31-4: 'And siþ al þat fel in þe olde lawe was figure of Iesu Crist, and he made hymself man, it is soþ þat treuþe is maad bi Iesu Crist whanne he was man, for þanne figures ceessiden, and Crist was come ende of hem'.

B83/1-2, T83/1-2 I am certayn.....metes] For Lollard criticism of costly vestments see T80/5 and note. For criticism of adornment see *Rosarium, Ornatus* (G ff.89^v-90^r), and for criticism of ornate churches see *Rosarium*, p.71/2-4, quoting Jerome: 'Wat profete is it þe wallez for to schyne wiþ gemmez and Crist in pore men for to dye for hungre?' i.e.

once again the money which should be given to the poor is being misappropriated. Friars were often considered to be especially guilty of spending too much money on their churches, see *SEWW* p.117, 79-83, Aston, "'Caim's Castles'", pp.47-8. Such complaints were not, of course, confined to Lollards (see e.g. *PP* p.26/60-72). For criticism of clerical expenditure on food see T153/2 and note.

T83/7 **shulen]** See note to T63/5 above.

T84/3 **also his neizbore]** For this reading and that of BHY see chapter on the textual tradition, possible BHY joint errors (3).

B84/3-6, T84/3-6 **And þus.....departed]** For the interdependency of the three forms of love (i.e. the argument put forward by T) see Wyclif, *DMD*, pp.114-5, Augustine *De Trinitate* viii, cc.7,8 (*PL* 42.956-9). For the argument that only those who love God love themselves (i.e. an argument closer to the BHY version) see Augustine, *De Trinitate* xiv, c.14 (*PL* 42.1049-51).

B84/6, T84/6 **Seynt Jon]** I John 4:20.

B84/9-85/1, T84/9 **sueþ resoun of more kepyng]** i.e. 'follow the order of the importance of observing'.

B85/8 **fer]** For this emendation, see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in B (2).

B85/9-10 **yf þay.....worschepe hem]** For this emendation, see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in B (1).

B86/2 **opene]** For this emendation of B's *vpon resoun it* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in B (3).

B86/9 **Crist]** For this emendation of B's *Crist God* and *man* see the chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in B (5).

BT87/2 **God and man]** For Wyclif's emphasis on the humanity of Christ

and its relationship to his realism see Workman i.138-9, and see also the fifth of Wyclif's heresies listed by Netter (*FZ* p.2). For Wyclif's response to the argument that Christ was so perfect that he must be a different species see *Triologus* pp.230-1.

T88/2 **profijt to]** T appears to have an eyeskip error here and has been emended in accordance with the HY reading.

B88/2-89/8, T88/2-7 See Wyclif, *Sermones* i.112: 'Consistit autem honor iste non precipue in decapuciacione, in declinacione vel aliis nutibus secundum hominem introductis, sed reverenter dando parentibus in casu quo egeant subsidium ac ministerium temporale; sed precipue posito quod egeant ministerio virtutum in via Domini et posito quod sint mortui ministrando illis suffragium spirituale'.

T88/4-5 **þingis]** BHY *signes* may appear to be the more difficult reading, but it could also simply be a repetition of a word found earlier in the same line. In view of the difficulty of deciding between the two, the readings of B and T have both been allowed to stand.

B88/9-89/17 **And so worschepyng..... seep al day]** Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.324/35-325/11.

B89/16 **God sleep children by pestylence]** The so-called 'Children's Plague' occurred in 1361-2, but there were further outbreaks in 1369 and 1379 both of which, in contrast to the initial outbreak of 1348-9, tended to draw their victims from the younger members of the population (McKisack, pp.331-2).

B89/19 **Holy Wryt wytnesseþ]** Deuteronomy 21:18-21 (partial paraphrase of final verse).

B90/4-5 **takeþ hede.....festes]** Translating the Vulgate 'comissionibus vacat et luxurie atque conviviis potatorum', cf. LV, 'he 3yueth tent to

glotonyes, and letcherie, and feestis'.

B90/16 Poul] Ephesians 6:1-4.

B91/2-94/9 This passage has been taken from the Wycliffite tract *Of Weddid Men and Wifis and of Here Children Also*, which appears later in B (ff.160^v-166^v). (Edited Arnold iii.188-201, from Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 296).

B91/6 in þe Olde Lawe] Deuteronomy 4:9, 6:7, 11:19.

B92/7 *Pater Noster and þe Crede*] See the instructions to godparents given in the Sarum rite, E.C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* (London, 1970), p.239/24-30.

B92/8 ten hestes] For the central importance of the commandments to Lollards, see *Introduction* p.xciv ff.

B92/14-15 Seynt Peter techeth] II Peter 2:21.

B92/15ff. *som men setteþ here chyl dren*] A similar comment appears in the DX version cf. Bodl.MS Laud Misc. 23 ff.12^v-13^r: 'Certis sich faderes *and* modris ben more cruel to himself *and* to her childery þan þou3 þey al tohakkeden here 3onge childryn whame þey were cristenyd as smale as fleys to þe pot.' The whole of this DX passage is similar to that found in B.

B93/14 Seynt Poule spekeþ] I Timothy 5:8.

B94/10ff. Passage related to DI cf. *BVV* p.325/11ff. Only the definition of the first type of father and mother corresponds exactly to that found in *BVV*, but it nevertheless seems possible that the whole of this section was taken from a DI witness; see notes to B94/18-19 and B98/2-7.

B94/11 *þre manere of fadres and modres*] For a similar division see Wyclif, *DMD* p.294-5.

B94/14 ff. Note that B's instruction to obedience here is qualified: one

should obey ones priest only 'in þat þat Godes lawe techē'.

B94/18-19 **alle his pareschenes beþ as oure moder]** This comparison does not occur in the DI version as it appears in *BVV* (i.e. the witness found in the Simeon manuscript) but it does appear in some others; see, for example BL MS Royal 17.A.xxvi f.13^r/16.

B95/10-11, T95/4-5 **vpon resoun skyle]** H *opyn skille* is a possible reading, but it seems more likely that the BTY reading is original and that *resoun* was lost because the scribe felt it duplicated *skyle*, with subsequent change of *opyn* to *vpon*.

T95/6 **more skile wole þat þou haue]** This omission by HTY is due to eyeskip. The emendation is in accordance with the B reading.

B95/8ff., T95/2ff. For a similar argument see Grosseteste, *De Decem Mandatis*, p.40/19ff.

B96/3ff., T96/3ff. cf. *DOP* p.439/10-440/3:

[I]t were forto wite ouer hou curatis wisten pore memus
godis in makinge þer kyn riche; bisyde þat þey spenden in þer
oune persone; & þus ben many in englond maad riche fro ful
symple staat. & it semyþ þat þe kyng of pride hæþ taust þis bi
his firste syme, for many curatis han delit to haue riche men
of þer kyn.....but þe bileue of iesu crist shulde teche men to
queæche þis pride. crist louyde ful wel his kyn, as his modir &
his cosyngs, but he louyde hem not to be worldly riche but forto
lyue a pore lif.

For the fact that Christ chose to live in a poor family see *Rosarium*, G f.93^r ll.35-7. For Christ's refusal to make James and John rich, see Matthew 20:20-8 and the sermon on this passage, *EWS* iii.92-3.

T97/6-7 For emendations to these lines see chapter on the textual tradition, possible HTY joint errors (4).

T97/7-9 **to hem.....þan children]** H's omission of this passage is due to

eyeskip.

B97/8, T97/8 Seynt Poul seyp] II Corinthians 12:14.

B98/2-7 Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.325/20-26. This is a continuation of the passage defining the three types of parents; see note to **B94/10ff.**

T98/6ff. An attack on financial provision for the clergy. For similar complaints about clerical wealth see *DOP* pp.410-11, 434-5. For the view that the clergy should follow Christ's example of poverty and should live by their own labour and alms freely offered by their parishioners rather than by tithes see Thorpe's testimony, *TWT* pp.66-74; *DOP* p.414. Again, the argument is that priests misappropriate money which should be spent on the poor (*TWT* p.70). That the clergy should not have temporal possessions but should go on foot preaching the word of God was one of the sixteen points on which the Bishops accused the Lollards (*SEWW* p.19/22-24). For the right of parishioners to judge their clergy see *DMD* p.301, *DOP* p.418. In the latter case a critical judgement is to result in the withholding of tithes.

T99/8 ten faire witnessis] See e.g. Matthew 10:9-10, Mark 6:8, Luke 10:3-4, all cited by Wyclif, *DCD* iii.133; Luke 22:25-27, cited by Wyclif, *DCD* iii.187. For the view that 'nomen clerici est nomen oneris et non nomen honoris vel commodi secularis' see *DCD* p.245.

T99/10 lordis of þis world] For the Caesarean clergy, of whom one of the most notable was Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor, see Workman ii.108ff. For the evils arising from such secular appointments see Arnold iii.215.

T99/14-15 Crist hymself seip] See Hebrews 12:6.

T100/1ff. For the duties of the secular lord with regard to errant clergy see note to B62/9ff., T62/9ff.

T100/3 **fordo]** For H *for to do* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (3).

T100/5 **shulde not 3yue her bisshops lordshipis of þis world]** See T99/10 above and note.

T100/9 **seien þat it is eresie]** Wyclif's view that churchmen should have no temporalities was condemned as a heresy at the Blackfriars Council in 1382 (*FZ* p.279, item x). For earlier condemnations by Gregory XI of the suggestion that ecclesiastics might be deprived of their temporalities see *FZ* p.248 item vi; p.254, item xvi; pp.255-6 item xvii.

T100/14 **sepulcris ne abbeis]** cf. T3/6 above and note. The argument here is against the granting of perpetual alms for the good of one's soul. B101/3-104/8, T101/4-104/8 **And herefore.....of God]** For Lollard views on the death penalty see Hudson, *PR* p.370. Certain Lollards held more extreme views than those expressed here. Walter Brut, for instance, argued that the idea that men might kill *ex officio* had its foundation in the Old Law but that Christ wished mercy to be shown to sinners (*A&M* iii.159-63). In general, however, Lollards acknowledged the legality of the death penalty, although they worried about the possibility of misjudgement (see *An Apology for Lollard Doctrines* p.64: 'for now are iust men oft wrongid, and schrewis vnpunischid') and about the whole problem of anticipating God's judgement (cf. Wyclif, *Sermones* i.119). See also T103/11-104/3 and note.

B101/5 **a grete clerke]** Although it seems likely that this reference was present in a BHTY ancestor, the fact that it appears to have been lost in the HTY tradition as part of the process of making the transition from the

interpolated section on the eucharist back to the original, means that it is no longer appropriate to restore the reference in T.

T101/8 **supposen]** For H *say* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (3).

T101/8-12 **Wipouten ony dout.....as false freris gabben]** For Wycliffite views on the Eucharist see *Introduction* p.cix ff., Kenny (1985), pp.82-90. Workman argues that Wyclif's main objections to the Eucharist were metaphysical (Workman ii.30), but see Catto p.274ff. for Wyclif's emotional reaction to what he saw as the idolatry of the Eucharist. Keen argues that Wyclif's original objections were scriptural (Keen in Kenny (1986), p.11ff.). For Wyclif's view that a consecrated host which had accidents but no substance was nothing, see Keen in Kenny (1986), p.9/31-2, and cf. Wyclif, *Sermones* iii.410/13-15.

B101/5-102/2, T102/1-2 I have not been able to identify the 'grete clerke' referred to here. For a similar view see Wyclif, *Sermones* i.118/31-5: 'Cum ergo principium fidei debet esse fidelibus quod in omni operatione hominis, ubi est a voluntate divina difformitas, est peccatum, patet quod nemo presumeret fratrem suum occidere nisi ex caritate et casu quo hoc sibi fuerit revelatum.' The usual authority cited for the legality of killing men with God's authorisation is Augustine, cf. *De Civitate Dei* i, c.21 (PL 41/35): 'Quasdam vero exceptiones eadem ipsa divina fecit auctoritas, ut non liceat hominem occidi', cited in *Rosarium* (G f.46^v).

B102/2 **may]** B *many* has been emended in accordance with the HTY reading. The emphasis is not on how many people kill, but on when it is permissible to do so.

T103/11-104/3 **But it is.....as men vsen]** For a response to this argument as presented in the *Twelve Conclusions* see Dymmok p.255-6.

The view originated with Wyclif, who observes that the reasons for doubting the validity of the death penalty are three-fold: first that its use varies from kingdom to kingdom although the crimes do not differ; secondly that whether the death penalty is imposed or not bears no relation to the seriousness of the offence (the discussion here focuses on theft); and, thirdly, that crimes against God are not punished so severely (*DCD* i.435).

T104/2 listlier] T has been emended in accordance with HY which appears to have marginally the more difficult reading.

T104/7 ony] T has been emended in accordance with B which appears to have marginally the more difficult reading.

B105/2, T105/3 Seynt Jon] I John 3:15.

T105/7 in ony heed synne] T has been emended in accordance with the BHY reading. Since the sinful example is equivalent to manslaughter it seems clear that a deadly sin is implied.

B105/7, T105/8 as it is of oper] i.e. as he does against all the others. The person who sins against one commandment sins against them all: see below T155/15ff. Any person who sins breaks the fifth commandment by leading his neighbour astray and thus risking his spiritual death.

B105/9, T105/10 as clerkes seyp] For the types of consent see *Floretum* f.58^r/41ff. which presents the following as a metrical summary of material drawn from canon law: 'cooperans, defendens, consilium dans, ac auctorizans, non iuuans, nec reprehendens'. A similar list appears in the *Rosarium* (G f.24^r), although the fifth type, corresponding to B's 'wipdrawep his help', appears here as 'lettep or helpep'. See also Wyclif, *De Officio Regis* pp.83-90, which, though it deals with only five

types of consent, nevertheless includes all those listed here, failure to correct appearing as one aspect of defence. Wyclif's order, however, is different.

B106/6-7 **þe prophetes of þe Olde Lawe**] See Wyclif, Sermones iii.88-9: 'Et ista ratio movebat prophetas in veteri lege usque ad mortem verba Domini publicare et moverent nostros presbyteros quantumcunque mundo simplices intrepide predicare'.

BT 106/9 **trewe men**] See note to B55/4, T55/5.

B107/4, T107/4 **prelat3**] For the critical overtones of the word 'prelate' when used by Lollards see note to B61/9.

T107/7 **tirauntis**] Emended in accordance with the BHY reading. For T *traitours* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in T (3).

B107/7, T107/7 **postes a3enst tyrauntes**] Although it is difficult to be certain that this passage refers to any particular event, it is perhaps worth noting that Wyclif put at least some of the blame for the Peasant's Revolt on the clergy, accusing them of encouraging the war which made the Poll Tax necessary and suggesting that the friars were restrained by simoniacal greed from giving good advice to those lords to whom they were confessors (*De Blasphemia* pp.191-2). As far as H *truauntes* is concerned, spelling with initial *tr-* is characterised by Hudson as distinctively Lollard (*TWT* p.115, note to l.750). For T *traitours* see the chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in T (3).

T108/2 **amuel rent**] For a similar use of this term see Arnold iii.296/19. For criticism of flattering friars who will absolve a man 'falsely for a litel money by 3eere' even though he is not willing to make restitution or to abandon his sin see Arnold iii.394.

T108/12 ff. For the relationship between Wyclif and the friars see

Introduction p.cxvii ff.

T108/16 **Seynt Jon]** I John 3:15.

T109/4 **sleyng of her owne briperen in her prisoun]** For Wyclif's frequent accusations that his supporters amongst the friars were being incarcerated after secret trials and dying from their maltreatment see M. Wilks, 'Wyclif and the Great Persecution', *SCH, Subsidia* 10 (1994), p.41. In *Sermones* ii.83 Wyclif suggests that such deaths were caused not only by the imprisonment itself ('per incarcerationem') but also 'alios modos manualiter'. See also *Sermones* iv.498ff. The order of the material in the HTY version, viz. a) the accusations about imprisonment, b) accusations about persecution, and c) accusations about Friars' teaching and their use of the confessional, suggests that this last may have been the original source for this passage.

T109/5-6 **Londoun and Lyncolun]** See *Introduction* p.cxxiii ff. The passage on persecution in *Sermones* iv (p.499, see note to T109/4) mentions no particular incident, but Wyclif does observe that not only those who perform the deed but also those who consent to it are murderers.

T109/15-110/3 **þe þridde maner.....fadir of siche freris]** cf. Wyclif, *Sermones* iv 499/9ff. The T version is, however, more extreme. For a similar accusation see Arnold iii.376-7.

T109/17 **if]** For this emendation see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in T (4).

T110/4ff. For friars' inability to 'ground' themselves in the Gospel see Hudson, *PR* p.349; Arnold iii.353/15ff. For the preaching of 'lesyngus and japes plesynge to þe peple' see Arnold iii.180/5-6.

T110/11 **ordris þat Crist made]** In the Lollard view, these

corresponded to the three estates (knights, clergy and labourers) but did not include the 'private religions' i.e. monks, friars, canons. For the failings of the secular clergy see Workman ii.108-18.

B111/1-112/21 **Alle þes.....do no manslawt]** Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.325/29-326/32. B112/10-14 ('He sleep.....a mansleer') does not, however appear in any of the extant DI witnesses. B111/1-7 appears to have been drawn from Wyclif, *Sermones* i.118/19-25.

B111/6 **þe wyse man]** Ecclesiasticus 13:19.

B111/10-21 This section corresponds in argument, though not exactly in wording, to Wyclif, *Sermones* i.119/5-14: 'Nam proprium est Deo animam creare et secundum disposicionem soli Deo cognitam ipsam corpori copulare et alias secundum indisposicionem sibi soli cognitam a corpore separare.....Ideo inter quatuor peccata ad Deum clamancia homicidium est primum atque precipuum. Nam Genesis IV^o, 10 legitur quomodo Dominus dixit ad Caym....'

B111/20 **Holy Wryt]** Genesis 4:10.

B112/6 **abreched]** not recorded but presumably a form of *abbregen*, 'to diminish'.

B112/13 **Seynt Jon]** I John 3:15.

B113/5, T113/6 **as þe Gospel techep]** Matthew 19:5.

T114/5 **Opere parties of þis synne]** For these see e.g. Wyclif, *DMD* pp.347-8, *Rosarium*, G f.68^r-69^v, Wenzel (ed.), *Fasciculus Morum*, p.667ff.

B115/1-4 **And þis word.....delectacioun]** This passage appears in the *Floretum* at the beginning of the section on *Luxuria* (f.159^v/10-12).

B115/8ff. cf. the questions to be asked in the confessional, Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests* pp.138-41.

B115/12 **þe wyse man seyb]** Wisdom 1:3.

B115/13-14, T115/2 **Crist.....seyb]** Matthew 5:28.

B116/11-14 **And þis is.....wipoute ende]** For a similar opinion see *PC* p.60.

B116/14-15 **Seynt Poule]** I Corinthians 6:9.

B116/17-117/12 **And in þis worde.....lecherous dedys doynge]**

Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.326/34-327/11.

B117/14-15, T117//3 **seyb a clerke]** See Wyclif, *DMD* p.444/2-9 (part of the discussion of the ninth commandment), quoting Peraldus.

B118/1 **fer]** *B fro* has been emended in accordance with HY, which appear to have the more difficult reading.

T118/1 **fle fer]** *T for* is possible (be a coward as far as the occasion of such a sin is concerned), but it seems more likely that the HY reading is original and that *fle* was omitted because of eyeskip and the -e- of *fer* subsequently misread as -o-.

B118/2, T118/2 **holynesse]** For this emendation see chapter on the textual tradition, possible HTY joint errors (6).

T118/3 **hoolyer]** For this emendation see *ibid*.

B118/9, T118/7 **þe secunde medycyne]** See Wyclif, *DMD* p.448/12: 'Luxuriat raro non bene pasta caro.'

B119/6-9 **Sybpe adultery.....was ydo]** cf. Grosseteste, *De Decem Mandatis* p.65/14-17.

B119/13 **Holy Wryt wytnesseþ]** II Samuel 12:9-10.

B120/4 **Absolon....lond]** II Samuel 15ff.

B120/5-6 **God sende.....dayes]** II Samuel 24:15.

B120/23 **I tolde byfore]** See B41/15ff.

T121/4 For TY *eche* and emendation see chapter on the textual tradition,

possible TY joint errors (4).

B123/6ff., T123/9ff. This section expresses Wycliffite views on Dominion, see *Introduction* pp.ciii ff.; Kenny (1985), pp.42-55; Hudson, *PR* pp.359-62; and cf. Wyclif, *DMD* p.365/16-18: 'Generaliter autem omnis iniustus cuiuscumque status fuerit fur dicitur apud Deum, et eo fur gravior quo fuerit apud Deum iniustior', *Sermones* i.130-1: 'cum Deus sit universalis dominus totius mundi et quilibet imperator vel rex est servus huius Domini vel ballivus, patet quod quicumque, consumendo bona huius Domini et non ministrando sibi fideliter, de tanto est huic Domino fur et latro'. As Hudson points out (pp.360-2), in a discussion which quotes from Y, Lollards (and Wyclif himself) commonly applied these theories of dominion to the Church rather than (as here) to secular rulers, cf. the view expressed in T151/1-4 and see also Matthew pp.229-30 where it is argued that, although it is permissible to withhold tithes and offerings from sinful clerics, it is not permissible to withhold rents from sinful lords.

T124/8-11 **And herfor.....he occupieþ]** cf. Wyclif, *DCD* i.62-3 and *passim*.

B125/1-4 **And þis.....open robbynge]** Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.329/8-11

B125/15-17 **þe secunde manere.....wrong manere]** Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.329/12-15.

B125/18-126/3, T125/1-126/3 **alle vniuste men.....day þeues also]** Apparently a summary of Wyclif, *DMD* p.365.

B126/3-4, T126/5-6 **seyþ Crist]** John 10:1. For a possible source for this discussion see the similar argument based on this text by Wyclif, *Sermones* iv.502-5, an English version of which is printed in the

Appendix to *EWS* iii (pp.319-21).

B126/7 þey spoyleþ þe peple] cf. the definition of day thieves in the English sermon (*EWS* iii.319/13-16) as 'þese men þat aftir þis entre robben þe peple þat þei schulden kepe boþe of dymes and of offringis'.

B126/7 sogest vnto] B *vnder* has been emended in accordance with TY, which appear to have the more difficult reading.

B127/1-2, T127/1-2 Iye þus.....feyneþ] See the bull of John XXII, *Cum inter nonnullos* (November 1323), issued as part of an argument with the Spirituals and the Beguines (Denzinger (1963), pp.288-9), which states that Christ and the Apostles possessed goods both individually and in common. For a discussion of this bull see Wyclif, *De Potestate Pape* pp.81-2, and for the context in which the bull was issued and for reaction to it see Workman ii.100-1

B127/2, T127/2 he] i.e. Christ, see John 12:31.

B127/8, T127/8 Crist, þat may noust Iye] See Wyclif, *Sermones* iv.502/4: 'Christus qui mentiri non poterit'. This description is, however, so common that it is not really possible to use this correspondence as evidence of textual relationship.

T128/1 in her lettris] See e.g. Wykeham's register II.4[1b]: 'Willelmus, permissione divina Wyntoniensis episcopus'.

B128/2-18 Þe þrydde manere.....ne þefþe] Passage corresponding to DI, cf. BVV p.329/15-33.

T129/2ff. For discussion of this passage see *Introduction* p.cxxvii.

T129/9 þe Gospelle of Luk] Luke 9:54-6.

T129/15-17 But.....afyre] For the use of the death penalty on the continent see Workman ii.100, Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power', p.20.

T130/5 **his fader]** i.e. the Devil.

T130/6 **in þe Olde Lawe]** Leviticus 24:16.

T130/7 **in þe Newe Testament]** Matthew 18:15-17. See Wyclif, *Sermones* i.118/35-9.

T130/11 ff. For Lollard attitudes to execution see note to B101/3-104/8, T101/4-104/11

T131/5ff. For Lollard views on Church endowment see *Introduction* pp.cff., Hudson, *PR* pp.337-42 and, for the Lollard Disendowment Bill, *SEWW* pp.135-7. For Wyclif's views and Gregory XI's reaction see note to T100/9.

T131/9-12 For the duty to criticise clerical failings see Wyclif, *DCD* ii.88ff. Part of this argument, the passage on the criticism of ecclesiastics including the Roman pontiff (*DCD* ii.94/34-6), appeared on the schedule of Wyclif's propositions condemned by Gregory XI (Walsingham, *HA* i.355, item 19).

T131/15-16 **as Crist himsilf biddip]** See note to T130/7 above.

T131/17-132/1 **os Seynt Jon techip]** II John v.11.

T132/2 **men of þe Gospel]** See Pecock, *Repressor* i.36/24-5 (cited by Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary', p.168), where Lollards are referred to as 'Bible men whiche holden hem so wise bi the Bible aloone, 3he, bi the Newe Testament aloon.'

B132/5 **and.....iuggement]** For this emendation see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in B (1).

B132/6 **errore in]** B *eyþer* refers back to the two types of witness (that demanded by God's law and that demanded by man's) but the use of the phrase *suche false wytnesse* later in the sentence suggests that *errore* (see also HTY) is the better reading.

B133/4ff., T133/4ff. See Wyclif, *DMD* p.205/7 ff. Grosseteste, *De Decem Mandatis* p.28, section 12. The passage is slightly closer to the former than the latter.

T134/3-4 Y's omission here is due to eyeskip.

B135/1, T135/1 **þe fader of falshede]** i.e. the Devil, who lied to Eve (Genesis 3), and see also John 8:44.

T135/3-4 **And so.....fals witesse]** T eyeskip error, emended in accordance with the HY reading.

B135/6, T135/6 **falsest of alle oper lawes]** For despisers of God's law (in the context of the argument over endowments), see Matthew pp.286-9, especially p.289.

B136/7ff, T136/6ff. For this topic see Wyclif, *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae* ii.1-33.

B137/2, T137/2 **by wytesse of seynts]** See e.g. Augustine, *De Mendacio* i, c.21 (*PL* 40.516): 'Quisquis autem esse aliquod genus mendacii quod peccatum non sit putaverit, decipiet se ipsum turpiter' and similarly *Enchiridion* c.22 (*PL* 40.243), *De Doctrina Christiana* i, c.36 (*PL* 34.34), all cited by Wyclif, *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae* ii.13-14.

B137/5, T137/5 **þat is þe fyrste trewþe]** i.e. Christ is the Word of God.

B138/1ff., T138/1ff. cf. *EWS* i.402: 'But hit is seyde comunly þat þe þingus ben harde to men: to scorne men meedfully, or medfully plede wiþ men, or ellis for to fiste wiþ men by þe weye of charyte.'

B138/6, T138/6 **God byddeþ slce men]** See e.g. Joshua 8:1-2,18, II Samuel 5:23-5. For Lollard attitudes to warfare see Hudson, *PR* pp.367-70. Wyclif's view in *DMD* is that wars are permissible in a just cause but he quotes Matthew 5:10 in favour of suffering for the sake of righteousness (p.344).

T139/3 **be bedun]** For H *be don* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (3).

B139/6-7, T139/6-7 **batailles ydo nowpe a day]** For the effect of the Despenser's Crusade on Wycliffite views on warfare see *Introduction* p.xcvi; Hudson, *PR* p.368.

B139/8-140/1, T139/8-140/1 cf. Arnold iii.138/29-32: 'bot I rede not in Gods lawe þat Cristen men schulden cum byfore in feghting or batel, bot in meke pacience. And þis were þo mene whereby we schulden have Gods pees.'

B140/7, T140/7 **as þe Salme seyb]** Psalm 2:4.

B141/1-143/7 **Bot for to knowe.....aʒens þy neyʒebore]** Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.329/38-331/8. For a possible source for this passage see Wyclif, *Sermones* i.139-40.

B141/3 **in þre maneres]** The same three are listed (though without the detail) in Wyclif, *Sermones* i.138/28-30.

B142/1ff. For a similar argument see Wyclif, *Sermones* i.138-9.

B142/9 **Credo in sanctorum communionem]** Article ten of the Apostles' Creed, see *BVV* p.9.

B144/6, T144/6 **þes foure commaundement3]** i.e. the last two and the closely related sixth and seventh commandments.

B144/8, T144/7-8 **seyþ Poul]** I Timothy 6:10.

B144/9-145/13 **For as ʒe seep.....wiþ wrong]** Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.332/24-39. Note that in *BVV* this passage is immediately preceded by the quotation from Paul's letter to Timothy which may therefore have directed B's attention to it. The passage appears in DI as part of the discussion of the tenth commandment.

B145/14 **Seynt Gregory wytnesseþ]** Gregory, *Homiliae in Evangelia* ii,

hom. xl (PL 76.1304D), discussing Luke 16:19-31.

T146/1ff. For clerical greed and endowments see notes to T98/6ff., B127/1-2, T127/1-2, T131/5ff. For criticism of mendicants see e.g. *SEWW* pp.93-96.

T146/11 **bi þe lawe of eresie]** See Gratian, *Decretum* ii, C.xxiv, q.iii, c.32 (Friedberg i.999): 'Qui aliorum errorem defendit multo est dampnabilior illis, qui errant, quia non solum ille errat, sed etiam aliis offendicula preparat erroris et confirmat. Unde quia magister erroris est, non tantum hereticus, sed etiam heresiarcha dicendus est', quoted in the *Floretum* (f.58r/38-40) under the heading *Consensus*.

T147/1ff. Church appropriation was the annexation of a benefice by a religious house or institution, typically a monastery or a collegiate church. The appropriating body drew on the income of the living and replaced the parish priest with a less expensive vicar. See Workman ii.95ff., Matthew pp.425-6, Wyclif, *De Simonia* pp.88-9. Objections to appropriations centred on the fact that they led to increased wealth for monasteries at the expense both of the church buildings and of the parish priest, and that the vicars themselves were often incompetent. Not only Lollards objected to this practice, see e.g. Gascoigne pp.21, 106-15, 198, cited by Workman. For the whole question of the use of vicars (both as replacements for non-resident clergy and in appropriated churches) and for the condemnation of the Pope's approval of such practices as heresy see *DOP* pp.424-8, a discussion which seems a possible ultimate source for the HTY material.

T147/13 **Grosthed]** Robert Grosseteste (c.1170-1253), Bishop of Lincoln. For his definition of heresy, see his last words as reported by Matthew Paris (*Chronica Majora* v.401-2, discussed by Southern (1992),

p.292). In this passage Grosseteste defines heresy as 'choice' ('Haeresis Gracce, electio Latine') and applies this definition to the failure of friars to denounce the sins of the rich and to the practise of papal provisions. Southern suggests that there may also have been a treatise on heresy by Grosseteste which has not survived (Southern (1992), p.301 n.10, cf. Wyclif, *DCD* ii.58-9: 'Docet Lyncolniensis in quodam libello speciali istius materie quod *heresis est dogma falsum scripture sacre contrarium pertinaciter defensatum*.....et istum sensum dicit Lyncolniensis se extraxisse a Grecorum sentenciis; et concordant Latini catholici').

T147/16 þe Gospel seiþ] Matthew 23:24.

B148/7, T148/9 Salomon seyþ] Proverbs 30:15 The daughters of the water-leech were seen as types of avarice, in this case two types of avaricious lord, the first secular, the second clerical.

B149/5, T149/5 amercement3/ mercymenis] i.e. fines, in this case by secular lords. For similar criticisms see Matthew, p.233/31-3, Arnold iii.331.

B150/2 þey] HTY *she* gives a more consistent reading. However, the passage is concerned with the covetousness of clerics in the plural and some confusion is therefore natural, in which case the HTY reading may be a correction. As it seems impossible to tell which was the original, the pronouns of this passage have not been emended.

B150/4-7, T150/4-7 And as.....here synne] See T108/2 and note.

BT 151/1 contrarye] HY *traytorie* may appear to be the more difficult reading. However, as it also seems possible that this reading may have arisen because of a misreading of *contrarye* with initial abbreviation, the BT reading has not been emended.

B151/1-4, T151/1-4 Bot here.....chef Lord] Compare T123/11ff. and

note. The argument here assigned to the children of the fiend is in fact implicit in T's earlier argument, i.e. T is being inconsistent. The unwillingness to apply strict laws about dominion to secular lords appears to be based on the view that their wealth and power had been assigned to them by God (Matthew p.364). Christ was therefore willing to pay tribute to Caesar even though Caesar was a heathen emperor (Matthew p.230/3-4).

B151/4-7, T151/4-7 For a detailed account of the conflict between John and Innocent III see R.V. Turner, *King John* (London and New York, 1994), pp.147-74. This conflict concerned the Canterbury succession. John refused to accept the Pope's candidate, Stephen Langton, and forced the monks who had elected him into exile. In 1208 the Pope in turn pronounced an interdict, with the result that John confiscated ecclesiastical property (thus gaining a considerable income). In 1209 John was excommunicated. Trouble at home and the fear of French invasion eventually forced him to come to terms with Innocent in 1213, surrendering his crowns of England and Ireland and putting himself and his realms under apostolic suzerainty. By paying an annual tribute he received the territories back as fiefs. The interdict was finally lifted in 1214.

B151/7 ~~eschete~~] B *echer* has been emended in accordance with the more technical HTY reading.

B151/7-152/1, T151/7-152/1 For the inability of priests to judge the state of a man's soul see e.g. Wyclif, *Sermones* ii.138, Matthew p.333/16-18.

B152/8-9, T152/6-7 **And.....lordschep**] The B/Y version may be considered the less extreme since it puts such removal of secular lordship

firmly in the past. In general Lollards were not in favour of rebellion against secular authority (see Hudson, *PR* pp.366-7), although Wyclif believed that it was right to withhold tribute from a tyrant if by doing so you could end his reign (*DCD* i.201)

BT153/2 marke it to here kychen] B's reading, *ynarke it to here lykyng*, has been emended in accordance with that of HT. B's reading does not make sense, but it is easy to see how *marke* could have been misread as *inarke* and hence *ynarke*. The HT reading has been preferred to that of Y because it is more specific. For clerical gluttony see e.g. Arnold iii.156-8.

B154/4-7, T154/3-7 cf. Wyclif, *Sermones* i.144/18-21: 'origo tocius nequicie est in mente, nec facit opus extrinsecum ad gravamen criminis, nisi de quanto auxerit culpam mentis'.

B154/7-8, T154/7 Crist.....suche desyre] Matthew 5:28.

T154/8 teche] For H *lede* see chapter on the textual tradition, Errors in H (5).

T155/2 priuat religioun] i.e. the new sects, see note to T110/11.

T155/9 many men penken] For Lollard use of this expression, see Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', p.171.

T155/15ff. For a similar discussion of the third commandment see Wyclif, *Sermones* i.106. For affirmative commandments see *DMD* p.75.

T155/17 Seynt Jame] James 2:10.

T156/4 shal] See note to T63/5 above.

B161/1-162/9 And in þis word.....menne goedes] Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.331/13-332/6, p.332/13-22 (the first passage from the DI discussion of the ninth commandment and the second from the discussion of the tenth).

B161/2 Seynt Austyne] cf. Wyclif, *Sermones* i.144: 'ubi secundum sentenciam Augustini prohibetur universaliter volucio ad mechandum'. It is not entirely clear which passage from Augustine is referred to here, but see Augustine, *Quaestiones in Pentateuchum* ii, q.lxxi (*PL* 34.621).

B162/17 Cryst in þe Gospel] Mark 12:29-33

B163/21 Seynt Bernard seyþ] Not found, but see Pseudo-Bernard, *Liber de Modo Bene Vivendi* c.5.13 & 14 (*PL* 184.1207-8).

B164/13 Seynt Poule seyþ] I Corinthians 13:3.

B165/3 Seynt Poule seyþ] Romans 13:8.

B165/6-17 And herfore.....in ioye] Passage corresponding to DI, cf. *BVV* p.333/16-28.

B165/8 Crist seyþ] John 14:23.

B165/11-12 in þe Gospel of Seynt Jon] John 13:34, 15:12.

GLOSSARY

In view of the comparatively late nature of the text, the glossary is not comprehensive i.e. it does not record common words used in their modern senses. This often means that not all forms of a particular word are recorded. Where a word has a wide range of forms and assigning a meaning to each would lead to considerable repetition, the sense is recorded only alongside the first of the forms it glosses. *y* representing a vowel has been treated as *i*; *i* representing a consonant has been treated as *j*; and *u* and *v* have been treated as *u* when representing a vowel and as *v* when representing a consonant; *3* appears after *g*, and *þ* after *t*. The *y*-prefix of the past participle has been ignored; thus *yrad* appears under *r*. The following abbreviations have been used: *inf.* (infinitive), *pr.* (present), *sg.* (singular), *pl.* plural, *subj.* (subjunctive), *imp.* (imperative), *pr.p.* (present participle), *pa.t.* (past tense), *pp.* (past participle), *vbl.n.* (verbal noun), *v.* (verb), *adj.* (adjective), *adv.* (adverb), *n.* (noun), *prep.* (preposition), *pron.* (pronoun). * indicates an emended form.

abac, abak *adv.* back B107/1, T107/1; *gon* ~ regressed T110/11-12

abyde *v.* await B5/5; remain B162/21. **abydeþ** *pr.3sg.* awaits B5/4, forbears B77/6,8. **abyde** *pr.subj.sg.* B5/19

able *v.* enable B73/8, T73/8

aboute *adv. as adj. be* ~ be diligent B55/3, T55/3, B79/2

abrechd *v.pp.* diminished B112/6 (see note).

absoluciouns *n.pl.* indulgences T34/14

acomered *v.pp.* overwhelmed, defeated B18/13

adoune see **put**(*te v.*

adradde *v.pp.* afraid B119/10

affynyte *n.* relationship by marriage B120/16

affirmatyues *adj.pl.* positive, affirmative T159/5

after, aftir *prep.* in accordance with, according to B18/7,

B37/11,13, B45/18; according to the teachings of B29/10;

commensurately with B27/2, B45/13, B49/4, T49/5; *do* ~ keep

B90/15; *doep* ~ copies B46/4

after, aftir *conj.* to the degree that, in so far as T160/3; ~

pat B47/12, T47/2

aggregip *v.pr.3sg.* aggravates T99/3. **aggrege** *pr.pl.* T54/8

agreuyd *v.pp.* troubled B78/18

aʒen *adv.* in return B150/7, T150/6; back B152/1, T152/1

aʒens *prep.* against B8/16, B10/2; harmful to B12/10, T12/7; contrary to

T146/7

aʒenseyb, aʒenseip *v.pr.3sg.* contradicts B134/6, T134/6, B140/7,

T140/8

aysy see **esy** *adj.*

al(le *adj.* every B38/10, B83/2, T83/3

al *adv.* entirely B49/6, T49/7

alday *adv.* all the time, again and again B18/8, B19/9

algate(s, algatis *adv.* especially B75/6, T75/6, B88/7, T88/8; in

every respect, altogether B138/2, T138/2

alyen(e, aliene *adj.* false B7/8, T14/5, B20/7, T20/7, B23/1

alyzte *v.* descend B5/1

almes(se *n.* alms B37/17, B79/17, B152/6, T152/6; ~ *dedys*

benevolent or charitable actions, deeds of mercy B164/20; **almys**
B40/2

aloped *pa.t.sg.* escaped B17/22 (see note)

also *adv.* just as B26/16; as B128/12

alto *adv.* completely B56/18

alperhey3est *sup.adj.* most high B26/11

alwitty *adj.* omniscient T96/8

amende *v.* improve B149/6, T149/6; *refl.* mend ones ways B56/4.

amende *pr.subj.sg.* B27/1, B56/5. **amende** *pr.subj.pl.* B77/7,

B90/11; **amend** T153/5. **amended** *pp.* corrected B56/20

amendement *n.* come to ~ become a good Christian B164/18

amercement3 *n.pl.* penalties imposed at the discretion of the
court (as distinct from statutory fines) B149/5

amercy *v.* fine B149/6, T149/6. **amerced**, **amercyed** *pp.* B149/7,
T149/7

amys(se) *adv.* wrongfully, sinfully T15/11, B47/2, B143/10; *takun* ~
misunderstood T98/7

amysbeleued *pp.as adj.* faithless, idolatrous B29/23

and *conj.* if B5/4, B29/15,23, B164/2

anentis *prep.* as regards T70/5; *as* ~ T80/7, T81/7; **anemtys** as regards
B70/5, with respect to B111/2

anguyssch *n.* distressing circumstances, hardship B120/3

ano(o)n, **anone** *adv.* at once B115/7,15, T129/7; ~ *to* unto B17/8

answeryng *v.pr.p.* corresponding B32/1

apayde, **apayed** *v.pp.* content, satisfied B145/7, B145/11

ape *n. as adj.* false, deceptive T34/9

apeyre v.pr.subj.pl. injure (the reputation of) B141/12

ar conj. before B14/4, B16/23, B17/12

arbitrement n. liberal ~ free will B17/12

as conj. for example B44/15, B79/15; since T131/11

ascape, askape v. escape the notice of B49/3, T49/3

a-se v.imp.sg. consider B10/6

asterte v. escape, avoid T15/11, B47/2, **astyrt** B17/3

attachements n.pl. sequestrations B125/17

auctorite, auctoryte, autorite n. authenticity, legal validity

B11/5*, T11/5; permission, authorisation B78/22, B102/2,3, T102/2,3;

by ~ with authoritative support (from Scripture) B41/16.

auenture n. chance, misfortune B79/15, B89/1

auyse v.refl.imp.sg. resolve B55/1, T55/1

auouteres n.pl. adulterers B42/11,12,15

auoutry(e, auoutrie n. adultery B42/9, T114/4, B119/14; **auouterye**

B44/5; **avoutrie** T114/11

auter n. altar B36/3,4; *breed,sacrement of pe* ~ the Host T34/7,

B35/12-36/1

autorisip v.pr.3sg. gives official sanction to, approves T147/2

autorite see **auctorite n.**

autour n. author T156/5, T160/4; teacher T134/9; **auctor** B134/9

awake v.imp. keep watch B5/14

away(e adv. as adj. is ~ is lost B3/2, T3/2

axe v. ask B19/16, B29/18; demand B151/7, T151/7. **axeþ, axip**

pr.3sg. B12/8, T12/5, B24/10, T24/6. **axeþ, axen pr.pl.** B132/4,

T132/9. **axede, axide pa.t.sg.** B1/3, T1/4. **axede, axiden pa.t.pl.**

B96/9, T96/9, T129/11

bachbyter, bacbiter *n.* slanderer B105/4, T105/5

bailleys, bailies *n.pl.* bailifs B7/2, T7/3

baly *n.* belly B23/11

barre *n.* bar (in court) B140/6, T140/6

bastard *adj.* ~ *braunches, braunchis* wild shoots or suckers B64/1,
T64/1

bedes *n.pl.* prayers B78/20

begetun* *v.pp.* conceived T122/2

beheste see **byhest** *n.*

behoteþ *v.pr.3sg.* promises B95/9. **byheyste** *pa.t.sg.* B19/23

benefytes, benefyt3 *n.pl.* favours B20/4; friendly behaviour
B120/17, **benefetes** B20/1

benygne, benigne *adj.* generous, merciful B16/2,5

beo *v.* be B1/2,6,9. **beþ, ben** *pr.pl.* B2/7,8, T2/7,8; **beoþ** B6/3,
B8/20; **be** B21/9. **be** *pr.subj.sg.* B15/2, B23/14, T52/2; **beo**
B5/4,17, B8/11. **be** *pr.subj.pl.* T3/2, B35/16, B37/4; **beo** B3/2

bere *v.* ~ *vp* support T64/7. **bereþ** *pr.pl.* B64/7

berynge *vbl.n.* behaviour B27/5,6

bescherewe *v.* curse, speak ill of B93/2

best(c, beest *n.* beast, animal B8/7, B67/4, T67/4, **bestes** *pl.*
B27/18, B28/25, B29/16

bette *comp.adj.* better T136/8

beþenke see **bipenke** *v.*

by, bi *prep.* for B47/4; per B151/5, T151/5

bydde, bidde *v.* command B6/4, T6/3; pray B79/9. **byddeþ, biddiþ,**
byddyth, byddeth *pr.3sg.* B3/6, T3/6, B11/8, B91/5. **byt, bid**

pr.3sg. B1/9, T1/10. **bad** *pa.t.sg.* B1/4, T1/5. **badde** *pa.t.subj.sg.* T152/8. **y)bede, bedun, beden** *pp.* B3/3, T3/3, B87/7, T99/8
byddynges, biddyngis *n.pl.* commandments B1/1, T1/2, T2/4
bye, bi(e *v.* obtain, secure B140/1, T140/1; pay for, atone for B152/5, T152/5. **bouzte** *pa.t.sg.* redeemed B36/2
bygyle *v.* deceive, dupe B27/20, B128/6. **begyleþ, bigilip*** *pr.3sg.* B106/5, T106/5
byheyzte see **behoteþ** *v.*
byhest, beheste *n.* promise, pledge B90/19; *londe of* ~ Promised Land B91/10. **bihestis** *pl.* commandments T3/6
byleue, bileue *n.* (Christian) faith, Creed B2/1, T2/1; belief B139/1, T139/1; doctrine B91/11; **beleue** B3/10, B48/9
bynde *v.* obligate T80/15; fetter, chain T153/5. **byndeþ, byndip** *pr.3sg.* B68/4, T68/4. **bynden** *pr.pl.* T159/3,5,6. **bynde** *pr.subj.pl.* B17/2. **ybounde** *pp.* B22/6; **bunden** obliged T80/9
byneme *v.* deprive of B120/13
byreue *v.* deprive of B141/5,9, B143/2
bysy *adj.* diligent B5/17, B62/4, B125/14; devoted B37/16. **bisiest** *sup.* T62/4
bysye, bisie *v.refl.* occupy self B79/12-13, B82/1, T82/4.
bysyeþ*, bisieþ *pr.3sg.* B150/3, T150/3. **bysy** *pr.subj.pl.* B76/9.
bysy *imp.sg.* bestir self B79/1
bysyliche, bisily *adv.* diligently B1/10, T1/11. **bysyloker** *comp.* B19/11, B33/3
bytyme *adv.* in good time, early enough B27/1
bitokene *v.* symbolize T72/2. **bitokeneþ, bytokeneþ** *pr.3sg.* T20/1, B47/3. **bytoknyng(e** *pr.p.* presaging B31/10; representing B36/13.

betokened *pp.* symbolized B18/17

bitwixe *prep.* between T155/11

bipenke, bypenke, bepenke *v.refl.imp.sg.* remember B68/1, T68/1;
consider B78/13

blabrest, blaberist *v.pr.2sg.* talk foolishly B59/4, T59/4.

blabere *pr.subj.sg.* T26/5

blame *v.* censure B91/21. **blame(n** *pr.pl.* B74/9, T74/9. **blame**
imp.sg. T122/3

blasfemes *n.pl.* blasphemers T130/6

blemeschep, blemyshen *v.pr.pl.* dishonour B69/3, T69/7, T146/12

blissid *pp.* in glory, revered T136/4

bode *v.pp.* commanded B66/6

boldlyche *adv.* arrogantly, blasphemously B56/13

boner *adj.* kind B19/25

boolde *adj.* sturdy B5/8

bot, but *conj.* unless B3/2, B56/4, B90/10; except B81/4; ~ *if,yf*
unless B1/8, T1/9; *quasi prep.* other than B6/4, T6/3; except
for B54/3, T54/3; *quasi adv.* only B37/7, B121/11, B137/3, T137/3

bope *adj.* as well T146/11

boundes *n.pl.* land, territory B165/20

bowe *v.* turn aside B3/7, T3/6

brenne *v.* burn T109/6, B164/14. **brennynge** *pr.p.* fervent B91/13,
B115/2. **brend, brent** *pp.* burnt B118/5, T118/5, T129/5,7

bryges *n.pl.* disputes B145/2

bryngeþ, bryngiþ *v.pr.3sg.* ~ *in* draws in, through B15/4, B52/3,
T52/3. **brynge** *imp.pl.* ~ *forþ* bring up B90/21. **brouzt** *pa.t.sg.* ~ *forth*
brought up B86/5, T86/5; ~ *ynne* introduced T110/13

brystyl, bristel *n.* needle made of bristle B15/4, B52/3, T52/3

bulle *n.* edict T147/12. **bullis** *n.pl.* indulgences T34/14; official
papal documents, edicts T147/10

but see **bot** *conj.*

caas *n.* circumstance B128/8, B163/18; instance, dispute in law
T155/10; *in* ~ in the event that B88/10. **casis** *pl.* T149/8

callyng *vbl.n.* command T110/6

camen see **comeþ** *v.*

casten *v.pr.pl.refl.* ~ *hem* set themselves T110/10; **cast** *pp.*
determined, plotted T65/8

catel *n.* property, worldly goods B25/7, B89/3,

causis *n.pl.* (legal) cases B149/8

cautel(e) *n.* trick, deceit B128/13; *as* *adj.* deceptive B44/15

censures, sensures *n.pl.* judgements, sentences B2/8, T2/8.

certis, certes *adv.* certainly T34/9, B93/3, T110/7

chaffaryng *vbl.n.* business affairs or dealings B28/10

challengeþ, chalengip *v.pr.3sg.* claims B62/7, T62/7

charge *n.* burden B11/10, T11/9, B64/2, T64/2

charge *v. for to* ~ blameworthy T114/9. **chargeþ, chargip** *pr.3sg.*
values B83/3, T83/4. **chargeþ** *pr.pl.* instruct B92/6. **charge**
imp.sg. attach importance to T81/9. **chargid, charged** *pp.* packed
T15/1, B46/13; censured T108/8

chasteþ *v.pr.3sg.* disciplines B46/16

chastement *n.* discipline B45/10

chasteþ *v.pr.3sg.* disciplines B45/18. **chasteþ** reprimand *pr.pl.*
B93/13

chasty *v.* reprimand B91/21

chastyng(e) *vbl.n.* (proper) training, discipline B91/1,6, B92/1

cheffare *n.* trade B128/10

chynches *n.pl.* misers B25/10

clene *adj.* pure, guiltless, innocent B8/22, B39/14, T65/5;

excellent T121/5; complete B152/6

clenly *adv.* completely, thoroughly T33/9

clennesse *n.* purity B83/3, T83/4, B117/5

clepeþ, clepiþ *v.pr.3sg.* calls B43/2, T51/7. **clepeþ, clepeth,**

clepen *pr.pl.* B49/9, T49/9, B139/8. **clepe** *imp.sg.* B79/18.

(y)cleped, clepid, (y)clepyd *pp.* B14/6, B47/10, T69/5, B76/14

clerk(e) *n.* scholar, master B15/7, B31/1, B32/12; member of the

clergy B27/21. **clerkis, clerkys, clerkes** *pl.* T30/11, B62/2,

T62/2,3

colour *n.* argument B151/4, T151/4

comenyng see **commune** *v.*

comeþ *v.pr.3sg.ind.* ~ *of* comes from B53/5; originates with B137/3,

T137/3. **camen** *pa.t.pl.* ~ *yn* came about T110/6

commune *v.* communicate B59/2, T59/2; **comene** B9/20; **commeny**

participate B45/12. **commeneþ, communeþ** *pr.pl.* B45/10,14; ~

togedere share with one another B142/13,14. **comenyng*** *pr.p.*

communicating B9/7

commune *adj.* usual, general B91/15, B92/10; **comyn** T98/10 **comoun**

shared T146/16

communes, comyns *n.pl.* the common people B107/10, T107/10

communynge *vbl.n.* fellowship, community B142/10

compunccioun *n.* compassion B35/15; contrition B36/6

conferme *v.* endorse T100/6

conseyle *v.pr.1sg.* advise B145/5. **conseileþ**, **conseyleþ**, **conseilip**
pr.3sg. B10/4, B106/2, T106/2

conseil(l)e, **conseyle** *n.* advice B5/7, B37/11, B38/5. **conseyles**
pl. instructions B95/5

concense *n.* acquiescence in or tacit encouragement of (sin)
T106/6

yconstrayned *v.pp.* pressed B89/21

conteyneþ *v.pr.pl.* continue, carry on with B18/2

contraryeþ, **contrarieþ** *v.pr.3sg.* contradicts T129/8,17; offends
B137/6, T137/6

contrarious *adj.* ~ *to* at variance with B111/4; contrary to T127/6

conuersacioun *n.* manner of living, conduct B44/10

correcciouns *n.pl.* punishments B94/8, B150/6, T150/5

costelewe *adj.* costly B83/1

costeþ *v.pr.pl.* spend B92/20

coueytise, **coueityse**, **coueytise** *n.* covetousness B25/12, T25/1, T33/6,
B115/3

couent *n.* company T100/18

craft(e) *n.* art B29/5, B136/9, T136/8; affair T130/12; activity
B138/2, T138/2. **craftes**, **craftys** *pl.* arts, devices B27/17;
skills, branches of learning B92/18; activities B138/1, T138/1

creature *n.* created person or thing B44/3, B86/9, T86/9; creation
T122/11. **creatures**, **creaturis** *pl.* B50/1, T122/11, B134/3

crokede *adj.* crippled B79/19

culleþ *v.pr.pl.* kill B93/19

cure *n.* spiritual responsibility B93/15, B94/15,21

cursed *v.pp.* excommunicated B27/22

curtesye, curtesie *n.* kindness B75/5, T75/5, B76/5

day *n.as adj.* ~ *þeues* those who steal in the daytime, robbers,
bandits B126/3, T126/5, B127/3, T127/3

daye(þ see *deye* *v.*

dalyance *n.* conversation B10/5

debate *n.* *at* ~ in conflict B79/4. **debates** *pl.* quarrels, strife,
conflict B144/9, B145/2

declare *v.pr.subj.sg.* proclaim T155/5

dede *n.* *in* ~ actively T155/10

dedlyche *adj.* mortal, human B136/3

dedlyche *adv.* mortally B115/7,9

default(e *n.* lack B42/7, B106/9, T106/9; error T130/13. **defautis**
pl. sins T131/12

defendeþ, defendiþ *v.pr.3sg.* makes excuses for, speaks in support of
B106/2, T106/2. **defendid** *pp.* forbidden T146/7, 147/11

defouly *v.* defile, have sexual intercourse with, seduce B120/14.

defoulcþ *pr.pl.* pollute B37/21

defoylide *v.pa.t.subj.sg.* dirtied B99/14

degre(e *n.* manner, type T109/2; rank B164/8. **degrees** *pl.* ways
T157/1

deye *v.* die B4/12, B5/3, B90/5. **dayeþ** *pr.pl.* B29/12. **dayc** *pr.subj.sg.*
B120/9

delectacioun *n.* desire B43/15; pleasure in contemplating sin
B115/4,11; pleasure B116/5,8

deme *v.* judge B5/1, B77/9

departe *v.* separate self T122/8. **departcþ** *pr.pl.* separate
B115/13. **departed** *v.pp.* divided B7/4; separated B84/6

departyng *vbl.n.* sharing T131/6

depe *adj.* grievous T34/10, B77/5, T147/1. **depepest** *sup.* deepest B26/13

deply *adv.* grievously T146/8

derk(e) *adj.* wicked, evil B126/8, T127/1

derkep, darken *v.pr.pl.* are in darkness B126/6, T126/8

despense, dispense *n.* expenditure B62/4, T62/3

despyseb, dispisib *v.pr.3sg.* treats with contempt B56/12, B89/21,

T99/13. **despyseb** *pr.pl.* B94/6*, 8. **dispise** *pr.subj.pl.*

T99/12, **despyzed** *pp.* B56/3

despyte, dispijt *n.* contempt, defiance B76/16, B91/22; harm

T99/11

destynees *n.pl.* predictions of a person's fate B29/3

dignytees *n.pl.* excellent qualities, attributes B38/14, B39/1

dyrere *comp.adv.* more dearly, for more money B128/10

dysayse, dysaise *n.* hardship, misfortune, tribulation B33/7,

B41/3; **desayse** B41/5; **dyseyse** B45/12

discrecioun *n.* moral discernment or judgement B19/10, B75/9,

T75/9

discret(e) *adj.* prudent, morally discerning B55/1, T55/1

dysherited, disheritid *v.pp.* disinherited B132/7, T132/12

dysmale *adj.* unlucky B27/25

dysplesance *n.* displeasure B37/21

dyuynaciouns *n.pl.* the art of foretelling the future B29/3

dome, doom *n.* judgement B4/12, B55/14, T100/8. **domes day** day of

judgement B77/22. **domes** *pl.* laws, commandments B19/17

dorste *v.pa.t.sg.* dared B56/13; **dorste** *pa.t.subj.pl.* B162/6

doueres *n.pl.* life interest of spouse in husband's property,

dower B42/3

douster *n.* daughter B8/6, T67/4. **dousteres, doustris** *pl.* B148/8.

T148/9

doute *v.* be uncertain B70/1, T70/1. **douten** *pr.pl.* T155/15.

doute(d *pp.* considered uncertain B138/7, T138/7

dowid, dowed *v.pp.* endowed T131/7, T146/4

draw(e *v.* pull B74/7, T74/7; pull in harness T98/12; lead

B142/19. **drawep** *pr.3sg.* brings B21/3, T21/4; leads B163/7; ~ *out*

of derives from T147/13. **drawe** *pr.subj.pl.* tear, pull apart

B56/18. **drawe(n** *pp.* ~ *away* pulled up B144/6, T144/6

drede *n.* *it is no* ~ unquestionably, without doubt B134/9, T134/9

dritt *n.* dung, dirt B99/14

dude *v.pa.t.subj.sg.* did B128/8. **doo, don** *pp.* placed B47/16,

T47/6

dure *v.* last B90/10

eende *n.* *taile* ~ pudendum T23/4

endelyche, eendely *adv.* greatly B33/6, T33/3

Egyptians *adj.pl.* unlucky B27/24 (see note)

egrey *v.refl.imp.sg.* arouse self B38/2

ey3e see **y3e** *n.*

eyris *n.pl.* heirs T132/13

eke *adv.* also B33/1, B60/1, T60/1

elde *n.* age T156/16

elde *adj.* ~ *fader* grandfather B85/7-8, T85/7; ~ *moder* grandmother

B85/8, T85/7

eld(e)res, eldris *n.pl.* forefathers B85/2,8, T85/1,8; ~ *in*

soule spiritual fathers, priests T100/1-2

- elles, ellis** *adv.* otherwise B29/13, T33/2. B54/3
- enchaunementz** *n.pl.* acts of magic or witchcraft B27/13, B29/3
- enchauntyng** *vbl.n.* magic properties B28/4
- enchewe** *v.* eschew B111/5
- enhaunce** *v.* raise up, exalt B26/9
- eny** *adj.* any B2/2, B8/19, B21/5; **ony** T2/2, T21/6,8
- ensample** *n.* example B92/3,9, B93/4. **ensamples** *n.pl.* passages of scripture used to teach a lesson B138/9
- entent(e** *n.* spiritual attitude B9/1; aim, wish B28/17, B115/14
- entyred** *v.pa.t.pl.* decorated, decked out B32/2
- enuemned** *v.pp.* poisoned, corrupted B31/13
- enuyouslyche** *adv.* in a spirit of enmity B112/16, B141/12
- erbere** *n.* garden T109/11
- erbis** *n.pl.* medicinal plants T109/11,13,14
- erresses** *n.pl.* foretastes B42/2
- erre** *v.* sin T34/1; ~ *in* sin against T34/14. **erreþ** *pr.3sg.* strays B33/4. **erreþ** *pr.pl.* B29/13. **errynge** *pr.p.* B29/7
- errour(e** *n.* deviation from the truth T132/11; *of* ~ sinful, unsound B7/3, T7/3. **errours** *pl.* false or heretical beliefs or practices T34/10, T100/2, **errores** B47/14
- eschete** *n.* escheat, confiscation of land B151/7*, T151/7 (see note)
- eschewe** *adj.* loath, disinclined T31/2
- esy** *adj.* restrained, peaceable B57/3; **aysy** gentle B91/3
- euene** *adj.* perpendicular, upright B64/1, T64/1; ~ *Cristene* fellow Christian B79/6, B111/2, B112/15
- euen(e** *adv.* exactly B49/4, T49/5, T129/15; ~ *after* in exact accordance with B27/2; ~ *wip* as much as B44/3

euenelyche *adv.* equally B163/9

euydence *n.* *into his* ~ as an indication of this B32/7

execut(e *pp.* carried out B2/7, T2/7, B90/8

exponyng *vbl.n.* expounding B31/1

expounneþ *v.pr.3sg.* expounds B79/18

fagen *v.pr.pl.* flatter, deceive with false praise T109/17

fayl(l)e, faile *v.* be absent B50/1, T50/1; be lacking B50/2, T50/2; err T98/2. **failiþ** *pr.3sg.* fails T105/6; lacks T124/10, **feyleþ** B105/5.

fayneþ see **feyneþ** *v.*

fayre, faire *adj.* morally good B39/14; kindly B91/3; excellent T99/8

falle *v.* happen B64/9, T64/9. **falleþ, falliþ** *pr.3sg.* T98/4, T130/15, B154/6; ~ *to haue* is allotted to B125/6. **falleþ, fallen** *pr.pl.* ~ *in* pertain to B47/15, T47/4. **fel** *pa.t.sg.* sinned B151/6, T151/6

falsenesse *n.* that which is contrary to truth, vanity B46/4

fals(e)lych(e) *adv.* wickedly, wrongly B24/13, B142/6,20;

fals(e)ly T24/7, T128/4. **falslier** *comp.* more falsely T59/4, T62/6; **falsloker** B59/4; **falsoker** B62/6

fame *n.* good character B55/5*, T55/4; good reputation B112/9, B141/6,10

fangynge *vbl.n.* receiving B28/9

faste *adv.* instantly T129/17; ~ *about* diligent B6/3, T6/2

faute *n.* lack B45/10

feyleþ see **fayl(l)e** *v.*

feylynge *vbl.n.* touching, handling B116/9

feyneþ *v.pr.3sg.* pretends B127/2, T127/2. **feyneþ, feynen** *pr.pl.*

B63/8, T63/7; ~ *vpon* invent concerning T126/8; **fayneþ** ~ *on*
invent concerning B126/6

felawe, felowe *n.* spouse, companion B113/5,8, T113/6,8, B116/8

fele *adj.* many B75/1

fend(e *n.* Satan, the Devil T6/2, B27/9,19. **fendes, fendis** *pl.*

devils B6/3, T122/7,11

fer *adj.* far T50/3, B77/16; distant T85/7. **ferre** *comp.* B50/3.

ferrest *sup.* B62/4, T62/4

fer(e *adv.* far B118/1*, T118/1*, B132/6, T132/11

feruentloker *comp.adv.* more ardently B38/8

fygure, figure *n.* symbol B70/4,5,9, T70/4,5,9

fygureþ, figurip *v.pr.3sg.* symbolizes B70/7, T70/7

fykelynges *vbl.n.pl.* blandishments B116/5

flesch(e)lyche *adj.* bodily, carnal B22/9, B75/4, B163/7; ~

dede sexual intercourse B161/15; **fleslyche** plump B23/11;

flesclyche bodily, carnal B25/2; **fleisli** T75/4

fleschlyche *adv.* carnally B163/7

folly *adj.* sinful B27/19, T98/2

folyes, folies *n.pl.* foolish acts, sins B9/22, T100/3

folyes *adj.* foolish B118/7

folily *adv.* wickedly, sinfully T33/4

fonde *v.pa.t.sg.* found B120/3. **founde(n** *pp.* devised B150/8,

T150/8; **foundoun** encountered, met with T156/4

for *conj.* in order that B4/9, B7/3, T7/4; because B35/19; ~ *þat* because

B35/19

forbedeþ, forbedip *v.pr.3sg.* forbids B97/5, T97/5, B117/7.

forbedde *pr.subj.sg.* T147/14. **forbode** *pp.* B21/5, B22/20, B27/15; **forbeden** T99/9; **forbedun** T154/1,3,4
forbedyng(e) *vbl.n.* prohibition B152/4, T152/4
forbode *n.* prohibition B31/8
fordo *v.* put a stop to T100/3; discard, invalidate T147/8
forfendeþ, forfendip *v.pr.3sg.* forbids B87/8, T87/9, B88/4, T88/4. **forfendid, forfended** *pp.* T30/12, B48/2, T48/2
forfete *v.* transgress, sin B153/4, T153/4
forsetyng(e) *vbl.n.* disregard B145/4
fo(o)rme *n.* the archetype of a thing as it exists in the mind of God, the essence of a thing B51/3,4,5, T51/3,4,5
forte *adv.and particle* in order to B33/3
foul(e) *adj.* evil, wicked B23/11, T23/3, B78/13. **fowler** *comp.* more sinful, more vile B27/7
fouleþ, foulip *v.pr.3sg.* defouls B114/1, T114/2. **fouleþ, foulip** *pr.pl.* B113/7, T113/8
fraudys *n.pl.* dishonest acts B44/16
fre *adj.* generous, abundant B17/21
freris *n.pl.* friars T3/6, T101/12, T108/12
freslyche, fresliche *adv.* clearly B9/5, B9/17; **freschliche** B7/4.
freishlier *comp.* T7/4
fuyliþ *v.pr.3sg.* defiles T99/13
ful *adj.* complete, perfect B38/10
ful *adv.* very T132/11, B133/2, T133/2; completely B144/7
gabben *v.pr.pl.* lie T101/12
gentyles *n.pl.* members of the nobility B9/4
geteþ *v.pr.pl.* beget B44/5,8,12. **gate** *pa.t.sg.* B85/6, T85/6.

ygete *pp.* B38/15, B89/20; obtained B145/8

getyng, geetyng *vbl.n.* begetting T121/14; acquiring B128/5

gyles, giles *n.pl.* lies, deceit B82/6, T82/7

gynnes *n.pl.* tricks T66/4

goed(e) *n.* goodness, virtue B32/18; benefit B41/9, B112/12;

property, goods B123/7, B125/15; good people B142/13. **goed**

pl. B25/16, B42/14, B44/17

goed(e) *adj.* good B4/8, B6/2, B11/7; virtuous B9/1

goednesses *n.pl.* kindnesses, favours B19/8

gosseprede *n.* spiritual kinship brought about by sponsorship at
baptism or confirmation B120/16

gostlych(e) *adj.* spiritual B6/2, B42/11,15; ~ *fadres* priests

B89/11; **goostli, go(o)stly** T6/1, T82/6, B94/14

gostlyche *adv.* spiritually B88/8, B163/6; **goostly** T88/8

gop *v.pr.3sg.* ~ *forþ* proceeds B38/16

gouernayle *n.* rule, protective guidance, guardianship B94/16

gracious(e) *adj.* caused by God's grace, kindly B104/2, T104/5

graciousliche *adv.* mercifully B19/7

graue *v.* carve, sculpt B31/4. **graue(n, ygraue** *pp.* B7/9, T14/6,
B36/13

graues *n.pl.* carved works, statues B31/10

graunteþ, grauntip *v.pr.3sg.* consents to B133/6, T133/6

gredel *n.* gridiron B36/13, B36/14

greggeþ *v.pr.pl.* aggravate B54/8

grete, greet *adj.* important B44/16; swollen with importance
B149/9, T149/9

greuous(e) *adj.* deadly B27/19; serious B116/21

grypyng *vbl.n.* holding, embracing B116/2

gryslyche *adj.* horrible, dreadful B56/18

groped, gropid *v.pp.* touched B68/2, T68/3

gropclyche, gropeli *adj.* that can be touched B48/6, T48/6

gros(se *adj.* coarse B48/7, T48/7

ground(e *n.* foundation B18/16, B64/5, T64/5; basic facts B107/2, T107/2

grounde *v.* find a basis for T110/6, T129/16; justify themselves by showing T110/13; justify T147/9. **grounded, groundid** *pp.*

learned, rooted B12/11, T12/8; ~ *in* based on T131/13, B153/1

grucchen *v.pr.pl.* complain T157/4. **grucche** *pr.subj.sg.* ~ *azen* complains, grumbles T124/3

ȝe, ȝhe *adv.* indeed B10/9, T10/1, B105/3, T105/4

ȝeftes *n.pl.* gifts B141/7

ȝelde *v.* render B145/13. **ȝylde** *imp.sg.* B32/14

ȝer(e, ȝeer *n.* year B28/4, B151/6, T151/5. **ȝeres** *pl.* B5/10

ȝerde *n.* stick or rod used for punishment T15/5, B46/16

ȝif, if, yf *conj.* if B2/7, T2/6, B13/6, T53/1, T65/10; *al(le* ~ although B86/1, T98/2; even if T124/3

ȝit(e, ȝitt *adv.* yet B21/1, T21/1, B45/3

ȝyue *v.* give B3/5, T3/5, B28/14; **ȝeue** B3/9, B8/12, B85/4. **ȝeueþ,**

ȝyueþ *pr.3sg.* B5/6, B26/2, T26/2. **ȝyue** *pr.subj.sg.* T100/10. **ȝyf** *imp.sg.* B37/12. **ȝyue** *imp.pl* B40/4,7. **ȝaf** *pa.t.sg.* B10/12, T10/4.

ȝaf *pa.t.subj.pl.* B153/1, T153/1. **ȝyue(n** *pp.* T4/3, B62/2, T65/4;

ȝeue B4/3, B151/9; **ȝouen** T62/2, T99/7, T159/16

ȝyuyng *vbl.n.* giving T108/4

ȝok(e *n.* yoke B11/10, T11/9, T98/12

song *adj.* young T156/13, T158/3

half *n.* behalf B133/6, T133/7

halyday, haliday *n.* day consecrated to religious observance e.g.

Sunday B66/5, T66/7,9; **holyday** B76/13. **halydayes, halidaies**
pl. B77/3, B80/1, T80/2; **holydayes** B76/15

halpeny *n.* halfpenny B145/10

hal(e)we *v.* hallow, sanctify B66/7, T66/9, B69/2. **hal(e)wep,**

halewen *pr.pl.* B68/2, B69/3, T69/7

han see **haue** *v.*

hansel *n.* something given as a token of good luck, a New Year's
gift B28/4,5,7

hard(e) *adj.* severe B56/1, B91/14; harsh B56/21. **hardere** *comp.*
B90/10

hardylyche *adv.* with confidence B165/6

harlatry(e) *n.* obscene behaviour, sexual immorality B92/17, B94/7

hate *n.* wrath B58/7, T58/7

haue *v.* consider B50/10, T50/10; ~ *him* behave B111/2. **han** *pr.pl.*
have T80/5. T86/5

haunte *v.* stir, rouse B33/2

he *pron.* she B149/9

he(e)d, hede *adj.* capital, deadly B21/3, T21/3, T57/2, B58/1

hederys, hederis *n.pl.* executioners B103/6, T103/6

hedly *adj.* capital, deadly T121/2

heggyng *vbl.n.* enticement T121/11

hey see **hy** *pron.*

hey *n.* yard B77/16

hey, heyæ *adj.* great B46/19, B56/10; virtuous B76/3; honourable

B117/1; **hiȝe** T58/8, T76/4. **heyȝest** *sup.* B62/3; **hiȝest** T62/3

heile *v.* shelter, protect T132/1. **heilip** *pr.3sg.* T132/1

heynesse, hiȝnesse *n.* honour, power B97/1, T97/1; ~ *of herself*
self-importance B26/6

hele *n.* health B150/9, T150/9, B163/8

hem *pron.* them B2/8, T2/8; *refl.* themselves B22/15, B37/5, T54/5

hemself *refl.pron.* themselves B16/14, B21/8, B37/4; **hemsilf** T21/5

hende *adj.* gracious, merciful, loving B12/6, T12/3

hendy *adj.* gracious B16/2

herborowe *v.* give shelter to T129/10

herbourgh *n.* lodgings, shelter B40/6

herde *n.* shepherd B126/4, T126/6. **herdes, herdis** *pl.* B126/4,
T126/6

her(e) *pron.* their B7/14, B33/4, T34/1, B36/23

yhered *v.pp.* hired B141/6

her(e)for(e) *adv.* therefore B21/11*, T21/9, B48/3, T48/2

hery(e) *v.* worship, show reverence towards B7/12, B20/10, B32/10

herynge, heri yng *vbl.n.* worshipping, praise B72/8, T72/9

herytage, heritage *n.* inheritance B141/8, B165/8

hertelyche *adv.* earnestly B78/4,12

heste, heest *n.* commandment B9/15, T21/4. **hestes, he(e)stis** *pl.*
B3/6, B4/8, T4/8

hete *n.* enthusiasm B35/15; ardour B154/3, T154/3

hetip *see* **hotep** *v.*

heuy *adj.* burdensome B12/3

hy *pron.* they B9/13, B24/1, B37/6, **hey** B29/8

hye *v.pr.subj.pl.* be diligent B12/1. **hyynge** *pr.p.* eager to B115/3

hyere, hyre *v.* hear B56/11; listen to B89/21; **hyre** *imp.sg.* B9/1,
hurynge *pr.p.* hearing of B90/6
hizen *v. pr.pl.* esteem, honour T66/1
him *pron.* it B22/4; *refl.pron.* himself T75/6, B134/6, T134/6
hyryng *vbl.n.* listening B9/16
his *pron.* its T147/5
holdest *v.pr.2sg.* ~ *þe* conduct yourself B27/5,6. **holdeþ, holdiþ**
pr.3sg. considers B40/11,12, T156/15; ~ *him in a mene* behaves
in manner midway between B136/10, T137/1; ~ *wiþ* sides with
B135/1, T135/1. **holde** *pr.subj.pl.* B145/7. **yholde, holde(n pp.**
obliged B9/15, T15/10, B47/1; considered B55/1, T55/1;
kept, detained B94/3; constrained T157/12
holpe *v.pp.* helped B33/6
homely *adj.as n.* members of family, household B93/16
honde *n.* hand B7/9, B17/8. **hondis, hondes** *pl.* T14/6, B35/6; **hond**
T153/5
horþe *n.* filth, defilement B17/22. **horþes** *pl.* B37/20
hoteþ *v.pr.3sg.* commands, bids B19/15, B22/20; **hetip** promises
T95/2. **yhote** *pp.* B19/17, B32/14
humyl, humel *adj.* humble B27/3, B27/8, B39/14
hure *pron.* her B115/15,16
ydel *n. yn,an* ~ in vain B8/2, B66/2
ydel(e *adj.* worthless, idle B63/6, T63/6, B64/6, T64/6
if,yf see **3if** *conj.*
yȝe *n.* eye T34/8; *at* ~ clearly, with ones own eyes T84/8; **eyȝe**
B84/8. **yȝen** *pl.* T34/8
ylle *adv.* sinfully B33/1, B33/4

- ymagynaciouns** *n.pl.* falsehoods, fabrications B44/15
- in** *prep.* on, concerning B10/5; to the B92/22; against B135/4, T135/4
- incantaciouns** *n.pl.* sorcery, charms B27/14
- informacioun** *n.* instruction, teaching B9/18
- iniuryes, iniuries** *n.pl.* injustices, insults B140/1, T140/1
- ynow** *n.* enough T80/9, T156/6
- ynow** *adv.* enough B4/7, T4/7, B6/1
- ynowe** *adj.* sufficient B56/17
- ynrenneþ** *v.pr.pl.* (will) incur B29/8
- into** *prep.* ~ *þis euydence* as an indication of this B32/7; ~ *wytnesse* as evidence B42/2-3
- ypocrisy(e, ypocrisie** *n.* trickery, hypocrisy B63/2, T63/2, B65/1
- irregularite** *n.* violation of the laws of the Church
T108/7,10
- irreguler** *adj.* unfit to perform clerical or priestly duties,
violating the laws of the Church T108/6,9
- yscomfytēd** *v.pp.* defeated B18/13
- yse** *v.* see B13/7
- yuel(e** *adv.* poorly B118/10, T118/8
- ywete. ywyte** see **wyte** *v.*
- iangle** *v.* chatter, gossip B77/14
- iape** *v.* behave foolishly, tell jokes B77/15
- iapyng** *vbl.n.* joking, foolery T110/9
- iapis** *n.pl.* folies T110/16
- jestes** *n.pl.* tales B92/16
- iewesse** *n.* judicial punishment T131/3
- iolyte** *n.* revelry B92/17

iorney *n.* undertaking B28/2

kalendys *n.* first day (of month) B28/2

kendenesse friendliness, benevolence B120/17

kepe *n.* heed, notice B9/4, B37/19

kepe *v.* observe, celebrate B28/19, T80/10, T81/1. **kepeþ**, **kepiþ**

pr.3sg. protects B86/8, T86/8. **kepeþ**, **kepen** *pr.pl.* observe

B69/5, T69/8; maintain T121/9. **kepe** *pr.subj.sg.* B140/3, T140/3

kyn *suff.* kind(s) of T21/2, T49/10, B50/2, T50/2; **kenne** B49/9

kynd(e) *n.* nature B61/4, T69/7, B86/3, T86/3; heart T99/2; carnal

nature, natural instincts B117/13,14, T117/2; *by weye of ~* in

accordance with ones nature B111/8; *in his ~* by definition

T147/5; *of ~* by their nature B85/5, T85/5; **kende** nature B69/4

kynd(e)ly, **kyndelyche** *adv.* naturally T15/5, B46/17, B59/3, T59/3;

innately T134/8; **kendelyche** B134/7

kyngdom *n* kingship B17/13,14

kynnes *suff.* sorts of B21/2, T124/6

kynreden(e) *n.* generation (of descendents) B45/7, B46/10; blood

relationship B120/15. **kynredenys**, **kynredenes** *pl.* generations

B7/16, B41/14, **kynredis** T14/11

kitte *v.* cut T109/13

knowelecheþ *v.pr.3sg.* professes B19/3. **knowlechyng** *pres.part.*

acknowledging, confessing B17/20

knowelechyng *vbl.n.* acknowledgement, confession B78/17, B152/7

kunne *v.* learn, be informed about B12/5, T12/2, T157/15; know

B84/1, T84/1; **conne** B10/7. **kunne** *pr.pl.* are able to B46/13;

conneþ, **cunneþ** ~ *no letterure* are illiterate B9/8, B35/9. **kunne**

pr.subj.sg. have the capability, skill B89/4,5. **cunnyng** *pr.p.*

B16/8. **kunned** *pp.* T2/4

kunnyng(e) *vbl.n.* competence B78/22; knowledge, understanding
T156/16

lad(de) *v.pp.* guided, steered B17/4; led B46/17.

large *adj.* comprehensive, wide-ranging B58/2, T58/2

lasse, lesse *comp.adj.* lesser B148/6, T148/7

laste *v.* continue T108/2, go on living T109/15; **leste** last B57/8

late *v.imp.sg.* let T96/7

late *adv.* recently B35/2

lausom, lawesom *adj.* lawful, permissible B22/6, B31/15;

legitimate B28/22, B44/8

leche *n.* physician (healing the soul) B154/7, T154/7

leches *n.pl.* leeches B151/9, T151/9

lefful *adj.* lawful, permissible, legitimate B53/10, B74/7,9.

le(e)ueful T30/11, T34/4,10, T74/7

leffullyche, leuefully *adv.* lawfully, legitimately B60/4, T60/4

lerid *ppl.adj.* lettered, educated T33/5

le(e)se *v.* destroy T129/14, B143/1

lesyng(e, leesyng *vbl.n.*¹ lie B54/8, T54/8, T137/5. **lesynges,**

lesyngis *pl.* B44/16, T108/15, B137/7

lesyng(e, leesyng *vbl.n.*² loss B151/2, T151/2

leste *adj.sup.*¹ last B145/9

leste *adj.sup.*² least B40/10, B161/9

lette *v.* forbear B42/18; prevent T109/10. **lettip** *pr.3sg.* T159/17.

letteþ, letten *pr.pl.* B13/7, T13/7, B64/4. **lette** *pr.subj.sg.*

T158/6. **let** *imp.sg.* B35/13. **lettynge** *pr.p.* B163/13. **let(te** *pp.*

B112/6, B115/8

letterure *n.* letters, learning B9/8, B35/9 (see **kunne** *v.*)

le(e)ue *n.* permission, authority B70/1, T70/1, B123/7, T123/11

le(e)ue *v.*¹ abandon T34/13; desist from B56/14; omit, fail to carry out T122/14; renounce B133/3, T133/3, T155/2. **le(e)ueþ** *pr.3sg.* B26/3, T26/3; **leeuen** *pr.pl.* cease T108/3; **leueþ** abandon B150/2. **leue** *pr.subj.pl.* B62/5, **leue** *imp.pl.* B57/17. **left(e** *pp.* T33/9, B76/3, T76/4; set aside T110/16; disregarded T139/5

leue *v.*² live B45/8

leue *adj.* dear B35/2

le(e)ueful see **lefful** *adj.*

leuefully see **leffullyche** *adv.*

lewed *adj.* uneducated, unlettered B9/8, T33/5

liberal *adj.* free B17/12

liche, lyche *adj.* ~ to equal to B26/11; like B39/19,20; a member of the same species as B111/7

lyckle *adj.* likely B139/6

lyzt(e *n.* light B16/8, B78/2

lyzt(e, list *adj.* easy to bear, perform B4/2, T4/2, B6/5, T6/3, B11/10

lyzte *v.* enlighten B33/1

lyztlyche, lyztliche, listly *adv.* easily B10/7, B11/9, T11/8; **listlier*** *comp.* T104/2

lijf *n.* life T1/11, T22/2, T48/6; **lyue** B41/9,21, B77/20

likip, lykeþ *v.pr.3sg.* delights, takes pleasure in T110/8; *impers.* pleases B111/11,12

lykynge *vbl.n.* pleasure B16/19, B25/10; **lykynge*** sexual pleasure B117/7. **lykynges** *pl.* enjoyment B22/15

lymyte *v.* assign B63/8, T63/8. **lymyteþ, lymytip** *pr.3sg.* specifies

B54/5, T54/5; assigns B63/7, T63/7. **lymyted** *pp.* B62/1, T62/1
lynage *n.* family B120/15
lyue *v.* believe, trust B103/7
loke *v.* see B41/4, B77/4. **loke** *imp.sg.* see to it that, take care
B5/17, B60/4, T60/4. **lokid** *pp.* ~ *aboute* considered T100/15
londe *n.* piece of land, field B144/5, T144/5
longeþ *v.impers.pr.3sg.* ~ *to* is the prerogative of B111/11,16.
longynge *pr.p.* B111/15
loos *n.* good reputation T30/1
lore *n.* teaching, commandments B91/1, B91/5
lorkeþ *v.pr.pl.* lurk B127/3,5; **lorken** T127/3; **lurken** T127/5
loste* *n.* perdition, damnation B17/16
loste *v.* lose B120/12, B141/8, B164/12
loute *v.* bow down before T14/8
lowenesse *n.* humility B27/4
lower *comp.adj.* more dishonourable B27/7
lower *comp.adv.* more humbly B27/4
lowtyng, loutyng *vbl.n.* bowing down, kneeling B88/3, T88/3
lust(e, n. pleasure B16/19, B24/9, T24/5; desire B45/21. **lustes,**
lustis *pl.* pleasures B25/2; bodily appetities T30/6
lustep *v.refl.pr.pl.* ~ *hem* take pleasure B22/14
lustful *adj.* pleasant, delicious T118/8
lusty *adj.* pleasant, delicious B118/10
magnefye *v.* praise B92/22
mayden *n.* maidservant T67/4, T153/10
mayntene *v.* uphold, support T63/1, T65/12; **meyntene** B63/1;
menteyne B94/15. **menteyne(þ** *pr.pl.* B93/18, B94/3; **mayntenen**

T160/2. **mayntened** *pp.* T100/16, T131/12

maystry *n.* force B125/5. **maistryes** *pl.* acts of force B128/3

maistris *n.pl.* officials (of the Church) T128/2

makip, **makeþ** *v.pr3sg.* tells B141/5. **makeþ** *imp.pl.* B141/20;

makede, **made** *pa.t.sg.* B137/3, T137/4

malice *n.* sinful nature T110/8

mamettes see **mawmet** *n.*

maner(e) *n.* type(s) (of) B111/23, B113/2, T113/3; way B148/3,

T148/5; *in* ~ as in the same way as B90/8; *in,vpon al(le* ~ in every way

B128/15, B148/2, T148/3; *in many* ~ of many kinds T114/1. **maneres**,

maneris *pl.* habits, ways of behaving, practices B45/11; *in* ~ in various

ways B149/7, T149/7; *in many* ~ of many kinds B114/1

mark(e) *n.pl.* marks (monetary units equivalent to two thirds of a pound B151 5, T151/5

marke *v.* all t, set aside B153/2*, T153/2

marren *v.pr.pl.* ruin, corrupt T34/14

materyel *adj.* physical B57/6

maund(e)ment *n.* commandment T2/1, T30/4,9, T50/7. **maund(e)mentis** *pl.* T1 6,9, T31/3

mawmet *n.* idol T25/2. **mamettes**, **mawmetis** *pl.* B25/13, T25/4

mawmetrie *n.* idolatry T34/1,2; **mametrye** B93/21

me *undef.pron.* one, someone, people, B18/2, B28/3, B33/4

mede *n.* merit B3/2, T3/2; reward, payment B95/8, T95/2, B112/7,

B141 6. **meydes** *pl.* spiritual reward B12/1

medeþ, **medip** *v.pr.3sg.* rewards B86/8, T86/8

med(c)ful *adj.* meritorious, spiritually beneficial B76/2, T76/2*,

B104/6

medliþ, medleþ *v.pr.3sg.* mixes, blends T15/3,6,9, B46/18,21

meydes see **mede** *n.*

meynteynyng *vbl.n.* supporting B93/5

melleþ *v.pr.3sg.* mixes, blends B46/14

membris, membres *n.pl.* parts, components T114/6; genitalia B116/9, B117/11; *preuy* ~ private parts B117/8

mene *n.* position midway between two extremes B137/1, T137/1

mene *adj.* middle B137/4, T137/5

mene *v.* say B16/10, B28/21, B37/12. **menep** *pr.3sg.* advises B36/20.

menen, menep *pr.pl.* signify, symbolize T20/4, B47/7

menyfoldlyche *adv.* in many ways, repeatedly B37/20

mende *v.* amend B78/14

menteyne(þ) see **mayntene** *v.*

merchaundyse *n.* trade, commerce B128/10. **merchaundyses** *pl.* business transactions B128/11

merchaundyse *v.* engage in commerce, trade B77/15

mercymendis, mercymendis *n.pl.* fines, penalties collected in money or goods T149/5, B152/10, T152/8

merþe *n.* delight, enjoyment B94/7

merueillyche *adv.* wonderfully, miraculously B38/8

mesurabelyche *adv.* in moderation B128/14

measure *n.* moderation B24/8, T24/4,5; proper proportion, balance, harmony B50/2, T50/2; measurement B128/7

measureth, mesuriþ *v.pr.3sg.* determines B47/13, T47/3. **measure** *imp.sg.* regulate B97/6, T97/6

mete *n.* food B40/4. **metes, metis** *pl.* B83/2, T83/2; *into* ~ *of to* feed B164/14

meue *v.* move B11/6, B33/2, B55/6; **moeue** T11/6, T103/4, T133/3.

meueþ *pr.3sg.* moves B35/21, B36/7, B117/14; tempts B118/1;

moeueþ T117/2, T118/1. **moeuen** *pr.pl.* wonder, raise the question of T30/11; prompt T33/3; T86/3, T136/6; **meueþ** B86/3, B136/7.

meuynge *pr.p.* controlling B38/10,12. **moeuyde** *pa.t.sg.* prompted T109/9. **meued** *pp.* placed as phylacteries B9/13

meuyng(e, moeuyng *vbl.n.* prompting B24/9, B24/10, T24/5, T24/7

myche *n.* see **muche** *n.*

myche, miche *adj.* see **moche** *adj.*

myche *adv.* much, greatly T25/4, T34/2,3; **moche** B15/9,10; **muche** B37/6, B86/4; *as ~ as in him,hym is,ys* as far as he can B112/10, T114/13, B133/9

mynde *n.* memory as one of the three constituents or powers of the soul B38/15, B38/18, B38/21; *haue ~ take thought* B5/6; remember B8/3, B66/7, T66/8

mynystre *v.imp.pl.* give help B40/4, B40/7

myschef *n.* hardship, affliction, misfortune B79/10,16, B89/1, B120/4; **myschyf** B112/16; **meschief** wickedness B9/23

myslyuyng *n.* sinful living B45/9

myst see **moweþ** *v.*

mystakyng *vbl.n.* wrongful taking B145/16

mo *comp. adj.* more B33/9, B77/1

moche *adj.* great, much B9/23, B13/3, B43/19; **myche** T13/3, T82/9; **miche** T80/12

moche *adv.* see **myche** *adv.*

moeue, moeueþ, moeuen see **meue** *v.*

moralte *n.as adj.* of moral significance B70/5, T70/5

more *comp.adj.* greater B2/3, T2/3; worse T131/11; *þe* ~ the majority of T146/10

mosselles *n.pl.* small pieces of food B93/7

mot(e, v.pr.3sg. must B49/6, T49/6, B58/9; **mut** T20/6, T139/3.

mot(e(n *pr.pl.* T69/5, B70/5, T70/5, B85/5, T85/4. **most(e**

pa.t.sg. must B30/2; may B39/6. **moste** *pa.t.pl.* B55/12

mowene *n.* moon B28/20

mowe(þ *v.pr.pl.* may B20/5, B24/1, B27/17, B41/16. **myst** *pa.t.* B36/17

muchē *n.* for as ~ as, *þat* in so far as, since B31/5, B36/22; for

al so ~ *þat* B161/8; **myche** *as* ~ *as* equivalent in meaning to

T69/3; in as ~ *as* to the extent that T81/4

namelyche *adv.* especially B5/20, B35/9, B89/10; *and* ~ that is

B37/13

narracioun *n.* speech B10/4

ne *adv.* not B2/5, T2/5, B5/6

ne *conj.* nor B3/6, B7/9; ~.....*ne* neither.....nor T3/6, T100/14

nede *n.* necessity, need B33/7

nede *adv.* necessarily B49/6, T49/7, T69/5, B70/5

nedeles *adj.* vain, idle, useless B92/18

nedely *adv.* necessarily T61/1, T138/8; **nedelyche** B61/1; **nedelyche**

B138/8

nedes, nedis *adv.* necessarily B30/2, T70/5

ned(e)ful *adj.* necessary B12/11, T12/8, B22/5

nedēþ, nedīþ *v.pr.3sg.* requires B86/2, T86/2; *impers.* is necessary

B164/3

neyzest *sup.adj.* closest B85/7

neyzēþ *pr.3sg.* draws near to B5/9

nel *v.pr.3sg.* will not B89/20. **nelleþ** *pr.pl.* do not wish to

B12/3. **nel** *imp.pl.* be unwilling to B90/20

ynemmed, ynemned *v.pp.* mentioned B14/7; called B14/8; named B56/11

ner(r)e, nerrer, neer *comp.adj.* nearer, closer B27/2, B71/1,

T71/1, B85/5; **nyr** ~ *in* closer to B162/20

nerre *adv.* nearer B5/9

neþeles *adv.* nevertheless B43/5,8, B73/10

next *adj.sup.* closest B85/6, T85/6; preceding T113/4

next *adv.* *goynge* ~ *byfore* immediately preceding B113/3

nyzt *n.as adj.* ~ *þeues* robbers who operate by night, burglars,

sneak thieves B126/3,8, T126/5,10

noye *v.* harm B123 4, T123/8. **noyeþ, noyen** *pl.pres.ind.* B13/8,

T13 8

norysche *v.* foster B28/15. **norycheþ, norishþ** *pr.3sg.* B153/3,

T153/3. **norscheþ** *pr.pl.* bring up, raise B44/9,13. **norysche**

pr.subj.sg. B91 5. **noryshe** *imp.pl.* B90/21

noryschynge *vbl.n.* educating, rearing B93/5

notable *adj.* blameworthy B78/18

noþer, neþer *conj.* nor B7/11, B20/9, B35/19; ~.....*ne*

neither..... nor B8/7, B50/9, B66/1, T68/2-3; *ne*.....~ neither.....nor

B15/8-10; ~.....~ neithernor T123/8

nouelleryes *n.pl.* new types B92/16

nouzt *adv.* not B1/7, B3/5,6

nowþe *adv.* n w B31/10, B43/17; ~ *a day* nowadays B139/7

obesche *v.* bey B90/1. **obeschyp, obesheþ** *pr.3sg.* B88/1, T88/1.

obesche *imp.pl.* B90/17

object *n.* bjection T159/9

occasioun *n.* cause B32/18, B33/4; situation B118/1, T118/1

occupye, occupie *v.* possess, enjoy the use of B152/4, T152/4.

occupieþ *pr.3sg.* T124/11. **occupyeþ, occupien** *pr.pl.* B125/18, B126/2, T126/2, T126/4

of *prep.* by B4/5, T30/9, T130/16; for T122/3

offyce, office *n.* official position, duties, function B61/4,6, T61/5,6. **offices** *pl.* B62/7, T62/7

offycer, officer *n.* agent, official B61/6, T61/7. **offyceres, officers, officeris** *pl.* ecclesiastical officials B63/4, T63/4, T100/17

on *adj.* own, particular B22/3

on, oon *num.as adj.* one B11/7, T20/3, B38/22; **one** alone T51/4

on, oon *pron.* someone B1/3, T1/4; one B6/6, T6/5

ones, onys *adv.* once B17/2, B69/6, T69/9

onhcede see **oonhed** *n.*

ony see **eny** *adj.*

onlyche *adj.* alone B35/17, B36/21, B39/3

oo *adj.* one T11/6, T15/2, T59/7; **o** B46/14

oonhed, onheede *n.* unity T20/1, B47/4

open(e, opun *adj.* clear, plain B86/2*, T86/2, T147/4; visible B30/3; brazen, unconcealed B125/4

opun *adv.* clearly T146/6

ordeynest *v.pr.2sg.* direct B60/6, T60/6. **ordeyneþ** *pr.3sg.* decrees T152/6. **ordeynen** *pr.pl.* devise T160/2. **ordeynede** *pa.t.sg.*

ordained, decreed B97/2, T97/2, T109/14; caused T121/8.

(y)ordeyned *pp.* created B58/8, T58/8; decreed, ordained B58/10, T59/1, B61/2; provided B59/1, T59/2, B86/5, ; assigned B61/4,

T61/4; destined B111/14
ordenaunce *n.* rule T100/16; decree T102/6; **ordynaunce** B102/6
ordre *n.* ecclesiastical rank, *put doune of his* ~ demoted B27/21-
2; ~ *þat Crist hab ʒouen* role in the Church as ordained by
Christ T99/7; sequence B123/2, T123/6; **order** rule B165/14.
ordris *pl.* religious orders T109/8, T110/6,11
ornaments, ournementis *n.pl.* apparel, equipment B144/1, T144/1
oþer(e, pron. le(e)st ydel of ~ less idle than any other B64/6,
T64/6
oþer conj. or B2/9, B5/3,4; ~.....or either....or B53/8*,T53/7-8,
B120/10; ~.....~ either....or B79/15, B125/3-4
ouer prep. in addition to B120/5,9
oueral adv. everywhere B5/4, B38/10
our(e n. hour B5/15, B6/4, T6/2
ous-syf, ousself pron. ourselves B75/2, B141/16
out prep. ~ of without B139/7, T139/7, B164/21
owne v.pr.pl. ought B91/21
payed v.pp. satisfied T156/15
paraunter adv., perhaps B30/7, B57/1, B161/5
pareschenes n.pl. parishioners B94/19
part v. ~ of share T132/2. **partid pp.** divided T7/5; separated
T84/6
part(e n. party T114/3; *take* ~ of share B45/12. **partis pl.** sections
of society, social classes T64/7
parteyneþ, perteneþ, v.pr.3sg. belongs to B41/7; is associated
with B50/6, T50/7
party n. amount B43/20. **partyes, parties pl.** sections of society,

social classes B64/7; divisions, sections T114/5

passēþ, passiþ *v.pr.3sg.* surpasses B48/6,7, T48/6,7. **passēþ,**

passen *pr.pl.* B48/5, T48/4; do worse than B135/9, T135/9. **passe**

pr.subj.sg. exceed B24/8, T24/5; **passe** *pr.subj.pl.* go B14/4

passyngly, passynglyche *adv.* especially T81/12; very well B92/15

passioun *n.* suffering, torment B18/17, B36/16,18. **passiouns** *pl.*

B36/11

peyne *n.* torment of purgatory or hell B89/8, B111/14; punishment,

penalty B90/6, B145/18; *vpon* ~ under threat of punishment B3/3,

T3/3; *vp(on) ~ of* on penalty of losing B1/10, T1/11; under the

threat of B3/4, B58/7, T58/7; **payne** B90/7. **peynes** *pl.* B29/9,

B120/7,10,B145/15

ypeyntē *v.pp.* painted, depicted B36/13

peynture *n.* painting(s) B35/8, B36/9

penaunce *n.* punishment, suffering B91/14

perel *n.* spiritual danger B161/6. **perel(e)s** *pl.* B106/7, T106/7

perelous(e) *adj.* spiritually dangerous B63/3, T63/3, T80/15;

perylous B112/19

persone *n.* *his* ~ himself B112/13, B113/4, T113/5

pesable, pesible *adj.* peace-loving, peace-making B139/8, T139/8

pies *n.pl.* magpies T147/3

plages *n.pl.* disasters, afflictions B19/21

playntes *n.pl.* accusations, legal complaints B125/17

plede *v.* contend legally B140/5. **pledeþ** *pr.3sg.* B140/3. **pleden**

pr.pl. T140/6. **pledyde** *pa.t.pl.* B140/6

pledyngē *vbl.n.* legal dispute, litigation B138/2, B140/2

pleyes, pleies *n.pl.* amusements, diversions B75/3, T75/3

- plentenouser** *adj.comp.* more plentiful, more abundant B42/2
- plenteþe** *n.* abundance B164/17
- plesance** *n.* gratification, pleasure B25/9
- plete** *v.* contend legally T140/5. **pletip** *pr.3sg.* T140/4
- pletyng** *vbl.n.* legal dispute, litigation T138/2, T140/2
- pont** *n.* *in ~ of* as far as is concerned T110/1. **poyntes**,
poynt3, **poyntis** *n.pl.* branches B91/17, B92/10; items T129/7; ~
of byleue articles of faith B91/15, B92/10
- postes**, **postis** *n.pl.* defenders B107/7, T107/7
- powdrid** *v.pp.* bespattered T159/14
- preynted**, **prentid**, **printid** *v.pp.* imprinted B58/5, T58/5, T61/1
- prelat(e)** *n.* ecclesiastic of high rank, bishop B61/9, T61/9,
T98/6. **prelat3**, **prelatis** *pl.* B107/4, T107/4, T108/1
- presabyllyche** *adv.* in a laudable manner, admirably B32/4
- pryde**, **pride** *n.* ~ *of (bis) lyf(f),lijf* love of worldly pomp
B22/2,16, T22/2; ~ *of bis world(e)* worldly wealth, exalted
worldly position B127/8, T127/8
- priuat** *adj.* ~ *religioun* religious orders e.g. monks, friars
T155/2
- priuey**, **pryuey** *adj.* hidden, secret B30/1, B65/2, T65/2;
particular, special T107/9; **pryuy** B107/8
- pryueliche** *adv.* stealthily B5/16
- procuratours** *n.pl.* agents B93/4
- procured**, **procuride** *v.pa.t.sg.* urged, brought about B139/9,
T139/9
- profytt**, **profijt**, **profit** *n.* spiritual benefit T30/2, T33/8, B88/2;
interest B112/6, B125/9; **profest** B9/23; **profyzt** B24/3

profitable *adj.* useful, B28/22; advantageous T121/5
profited *v.pp.* grown stronger T109/15
properis *n.pl.* appropriators T147/1
proporcionabeliche *adv.* in proportion B42/2
propre *adj.* ~ *preste, prestis* confessor(s) B76/1, T76/1
(y)propred, proprid, propryd, *v.pp.* assigned B33/9, B37/1; ~ *to*
associated with T20/2, B47/4, B68/7, T68/7
propring *vbl.n.* appropriation T147/10
proute *adj.* proud B25/16, B26/2, B27/8
publicans *n.pl.* tax collectors T131/17
punsched *v.pp.* punished B145/15,18
pure *adv.* absolutely, altogether B4/2, T4/2
ypurged, purgid *v.pp.* removed, stripped B144/5, T144/5
put *n.* pit, abyss B26/13
put(te *v.* ~ *adoun* *refl.* prostrate self, kneel B36/20; ~ *fro*
deprive of B152/8, T152/6; ~ *out*(e turn out of office B63/8,
T63/8. **putteþ, puttiþ** *pr.3sg.* ~ *yn(ne* appoints B63/7, T63/6-7; ~
out expels B57/19, T57/2. **putt** *pr.pl.* bestow T99/11. **put(te**
imp.sg. ~ *away, away* renounce, forsake B82/5-6, T82/7. **y)put(t** *pp.*
~ *a)down*(e demoted B27/21, B120/10; abandoned T100/13; ~ *fro*
expelled from T100/17; denied to B152/3, T152/3; *be* ~ *adoun*
kneel, prostrate self B35/16
queme *v.* please or serve B163/3
quyete *v.* satisfy B73/8, T73/8
quyke *adj.* living B39/10, B40/20; *makyng* ~ giving life to B38/10
yrad *v.pp.* read, taught B3/8
ragynges *vbl.n.pl.* amorous dalliance, flirtation B116/6

- raþer** *comp.adv.* *þe* ~ the more easily B164/18
- raucyn** *n.* robbery B65/2, T65/2
- rauyschyng** *vbl.n.* theft B145/16
- reccheþ, recchen** *v.pr.pl.* care, are concerned about B107/9, T107/9
- redylyche** *adv.* fully B142/15
- reft** *v.pp.* stolen from T66/4
- reherceþ** *v.pr.3sg.* narrates, runs through B20/1
- rehersyng** *vbl.n.* enumerating B19/14
- reise** *v.* ~ *vp* restore T100/12
- rekene** *v.* list, enumerate B21/11, T21/9; give an account B145/8
- rekenyng** *vbl.n.* settlement of accounts B119/12, B145/9,12
- religioun** *n.* *men of* ~ people in holy orders T146/1; *priuāt* ~ see *priuāt* *adj.*
- religious** *n.pl.* clerics T136/7
- relyuyng** *vbl.n.* helping, relieving (from hardship) B79/14
- remes** see *rewme* *n.*
- renneþ, rennyþ** *v.pr.3sg.* ~ *wip* accompanies B71/8-9, T71/8
- rent** *n.* payment, fee T108/2. **rentes, rentis** *pl.* properties yielding revenue B25/6, T146/4
- reparel** *v.imp.sg.* renew, restore B38/3
- reprehended** *v.pp.* deplored B32/15
- resceyuēd** *v.pp.* ~ *Cristendom* been baptised B92/13
- resonabelyche** *adv.* in a reasonable manner B79/11
- reasonable** *adj.* endowed with reason B111/8
- resoun** *n.* exhortation, law T20/7; argument T30/5, B115/16; meaning B50/5, T50/5; just or reasonable behaviour B104/2,

T104/5; justice, reason T147/8,9, B153/1, T153/1; *bi þe* ~ *of*
because of T34/5; *in, by* ~ in a reasonable manner B83/2, T83/3,
B97/6; *is* ~ is reasonable B74/7, T74/7; *wipoute, out of* ~
unreasonable, unjust B149/5, T149/5; *resone* exhortation, law
B47/10. *resouns pl.* arguments T121/15
reste v.pa.t.sg. rested B8/9
reuersen v.pr.pl. contradict T100/8, T101/10. *reuerse pr.subj.sg.*
B134/2, T134/2
reuynge vbl.n. stealing B125/15
reule n. regulations governing a religious order T99/7
reule v. conduct (self) B9/18. *yrewled pp.* B161/20
rewme, reme n. realm T131/3,5*, B145/1. *remes, reumes, rewmes pl.*
B107/2, T107/2, T132/3
rychesse, richness(e n. wealth, worldly goods B86/5, T86/5, B97/7,
T97/7. *rychesses, richnessis pl.* B152/4, T152/4
ryzt, ryst n. truth B54/2, T54/2; righteousness T124/10; justice
T155/11
ryzt, ryst adv. exactly, just B38/18, B39/7, B163/5; well B50/5, T50/5;
virtuously, properly B149/7, T149/7
ryztful adj. virtuous, righteous B37/16, B39/12, B45/17; just
B94/9
ryztfulnesse n. virtue, goodness B18/7; just judgement B45/12
ryztwesse adj. virtuous B42/8; *ritwise* just T124/10
rote n. root B133/2, B144/6,8
rotye v. rot B76/7
saaf prep. subject to T33/7, T80/8
Sabot(e n. Sabbath B66/7, T66/9, B67/7, T67/7

samplis *n.pl.* passages from Scripture used to teach a lesson

T138/9

saue *adj.* saved, redeemed, safe B18/3,8, B55/9; **sauf** B4/5, **saaf**

T4/4

sauter *adj.* ~ *book* book of psalms B57/12

scatere *v.* squander, waste T33/4. **scaterip** *pr.3sg.* T33/6

schadues *n.pl.* images, likenesses B37/7

s(c)hal *v.pr.3sg.* must, shall, ought to B2/6, T2/6. **schullep** B4/10,

B9/13, B21/1

scholde, shulde *pa.t.subj.sg.* would B32/14, B65/6, T65/5. **shulden**

pa.t.subj.pl. T33/2

schappe, shape *v.* arrange, ensure B73/7, T73/7. **shapip** *pr.3sg.*

ordains for T122/13; *refl.* set oneself B76/4, T76/5

scharp, sharppe *adj.* severe B2/8. T2/8; **sharpest** *sup.* most painful T130/1

scharplokter, sharplier *comp.adv.* more eagerly, more swiftly B2/7,

T2/7

scherpe *v.* make keen B82/4. **scharpep, sharpip** *pr.3sg.* B81/4,

T81/4. **scharpep, sharpen** *pr.pl.* encourage B74/3, T74/3

schewe, shewe *v.* see, perceive, describe B20/5; make known B54/2,

T54/2; demonstrate, make manifest B62/9, T62/9. **schewep** *pr.pl.*

teach, instruct B40/1. **schewed** *pa.t.sg.* displayed B19/22,

schone *v.imp.sg.* prevent, guard against B35/13

schonynge *vbl.n.* prohibition B32/8

schrewed(e) *adj.* wicked B115/11, B116/5

schrewedelyche *adv.* wickedly B143/3

schrewednesse *n.* wickedness, depravity B93/19, B142/14

schrewes *n.pl.* wicked people, evildoers B142/14

schryfte *n.* confession B152/7

s(c)hryuyng(e) *vbl.n.* confessing B78/17; giving confession T110/1

schulle(p) see **s(c)hal** *v*

sclandrynge *vbl.n.* slandering, calumny B112/9

ysclaundred *v.pp.* slandered, disgraced B120/12

scornynge, skornyng *vbl.n.* contemptuous treatment B138/2, T138/2,
B140/2, T140/2

scripture *n.* writing, document B9/1, B28/24

secheþ *v.pr.pl.* seek B57/9, B150/4

seculer *adj.* lay T66/2, B127/4, T127/4, T131/7

seculer(e)s *n.pl.* members of the laity T30/9, B107/3, T107/3

seynge *v.pr.p.* seeing B32/13. **sien** *v.pa.t.pl.* saw T34/5; **seye**,
sei3 *pa.t.pl.* considered B13/6, T13/6. **yseye** *pp.* seen B30/2

semeliche *adv.* appropriate, fitting B5/19

semyng *vbl.n.* judgement T124/14

sende *v.pa.t.sg.* sent B77/20, B120/5. **sende** *pp.* B145/7

sensyble, sensible *adj.* capable of being perceived by the senses
B48/5, T48/5; bodily B64/6, T64/6

sensures see **censures** *n.pl.*

sentence *n.* (authoritative) opinion T100/9, T147/13

sermony *n.pl.* words (of God) B19/16 (see note)

seruyce *n.* assistance, help B89/2

seruy(e) *adj.* ~ *worke(s), wikk(is)* work done for personal gain,
forbidden on the Sabbath B8/6, B67/3, T67/3

sete *n.* throne B26/9

sette *v.* ~ *at nou3t* despise B40/16-17,19. **sette** *pr.subj.pl.* ~ *nou3t*
of think nothing of, discount B15/9. **yset, sett** *pp.* grounded,

rooted B39/4; focused, fixed B60/3, T60/3; ordained T104/3

seweþ see **sue** v.

sh- see also **sch-**

shame v.*pr.subj.pl.* be ashamed T121/15

sharpiþ see **scherpe** v.

short *adj.* transitory, of short duration T100/3

syb, sib *n.* ~ *to* related to B105/1, T105/2

siche *adj.* such T12/5, T13/8, T33/2

siche *pron.* such T20/7, T73/4

sien see **seynge** v.

syker *adv.* surely B26/16

sykere, siker *adj.* certain B103/2, T103/2

syлле v. sell B128/10. **syллеþ, sillip** *pr.3sg.* betrays for gain

B136/4,5, T136/3,4; sells B150/6, T150/6. **sillen, sylleþ**

pr.pl. T108/1, B135/8, T135/8. **solde** *pa.t.sg.* B136/1, T136/1

syllynge, sillyng *vbl.n.* betraying for gain B136/1, T136/1;

selling B128/6,16

similitude, symylitude *n.* image, idol T14/7, T30/3,5

symonyeris *n.pl.* simoniacs T146/17

synweres *n.pl.* sinners B142/5,6

synwy v. sin B115/9. **synweþ** *pr.3sg.* B21/5, B115/7, B118/10.

synweþ *pr.pl.* B117/2, B151/8. **synwy** *pr.subj.sg.* B17/12. **synwyng**

pr.p. B17/2. **synwed** *pa.t.sg.* B26/7

syþ, siþ *adv.* next, then B54/2, T54/2

syþ(þe, syþe, siþ(e *conj.* since B4/2, T4/1, B21/3, B72/4; ~ *þat*

since B24/2

syuen* v.*pr.pl.* strain at, gag at T147/17

skyle, skile *n.* argument B23/10, T23/3, B105/4, T105/5; reason
B95/11,12, T95/5

skyl(e)ful, skilful *adj.* reasonable, just B6/4, T6/3, B76/8

skylfullych(e) *adv.* reasonably B76/14, B128/7,14; **skillefullyche**
properly, fittingly B111/5

sleye see **slowen** *v.*

sley(3)pe *n.* trickery B128/3, B128/13. **sleybes** *pl.* tricks
B125/16, B128/6

sleupe *n.* sloth B44/14

slowe *adj.* slothful, sluggish B22/14

slowen *v.pa.t.pl.* killed T109/10. **sleye** *pp.* B107/6

smalnesse *n.* slenderness, thinness B52/3, T52/3

smyttid *v.pp.* tainted T146/10

so *conj.* ~ *pat* provided that B93/11

sobernesse *n.* moderation, temperance B44/7

socour *n.* help B78/19

sodeynliche *adv.* at once, instantly B5/1

soft(e) *adj.* easy to endure, not burdensome B11/10, T11/9

soge3t, suget *adj.* in bondage, enslaved B16/15; ~ *vnto* under the spiritual
guidance of B126/7*, T126/9

solace *v.refl.pr.subj.sg.* enjoy, comfort self B75/5, T75/5

solas, solace *n.* pleasure, spiritual comfort B75/7, T75/7

somdel, sumde(e)l *n.* part B70/4,5, T70/4,5, T100/11

somdel, sumdel *adv.* partly, to some extent B36/17, B50/5, T50/5

somtyme see **sumtyme** *adv.*

soop, sop(e) *adj.* true T101/7, B120/3, T121/17, B148/9

sore *adj.* in pain, hurt B27/18,

sore *adv.* greatly, very much B119/10. **sorer** *comp.* more harshly
B77/6

sory *adj.* sinful, accursed B76/14

sorowe contrition T130/17

sotel *adj.* deceitful B44/15; **sutyl**, **sutel** insidious B106/6,
T106/6

sotellyche *adv.* ingeniously B29/19; **sutely** treacherously T66/4

sotylte *n.* stratagem B28/12

soþ(e *n.* truth B54/6, T54/6, B141/19; *for* ~ truly B8/1. **sooþ**
truth T156/6

soþely, **soþeli** *adv.* truly B138/5, T138/5

soþenysse *n.* spiritual truth, steadfastness B33/5

soucreyn *adj.* supreme B141/17

soucreynlyche *adv.* above all B141/16

sowneþ, **sounenþ** *v.pr.3sg.* is consonant with B138/4, T138/4

spare *v.* avoid B28/1; refrain from B56/6. **spare** *pr.subj.sg.* cease
B163/3

speche *n.* *in maner(e of her(e* ~ in the form of words,
symbolically T20/5, B47/7-8

spede *v.* fare B28/6

spille *v.* kill B22/6

spoyle *v.* rob B65/1, T65/1. **spoyleþ** *pr.pl.* plunder B126/7;
spuylen T126/9

spoylynge *vbl.n.* theft B149/5; **spuylyng** T149/5

spouse *v.* marry B41/18; enter into spiritual communion with
T121/3

spousebrekeres *n.pl.* adulterers B44/5,12, B116/16

spousel(le *n.* marriage B28/22, B42/4,5

spoushed *n.* marriage T122/2

stable *v.* establish T155/11

stede *n.* place B50/1, T50/1

stefly, stifly *adv.* strictly T146/7, T147/11

stenede *v.pp.* stoned B90/5

stere *v.* guide, lead B90/20. **stereþ** *pr.3sg.* B22/8. **stereþ**
pr.pl. B92/17

sterres *n.pl.* stars B26/10

sterte *v.* ~ *abak* shrink back B107/1, T107/1

style *adj.* silent B141/19

styrye *v.* prompt, inspire B33/2. **styreþ, stirip** *pr.3sg.* tempts
B22/17, B24/9, T24/6

stryrynge *vbl.n.* encouragement B79/3

stokkis, stockes *n.pl.* wooden idols, posts, logs T33/7, B93/20

stondeþ, stondip *v.pr.3sg.* stands firm, is steadfast T124/9; ~
for is equivalent to T115/1; ~ *in* consists of B10/11, T10/3,
B22/16; is rooted in B21/3, T21/3; arises from T110/17; **stondit**
T122/1. **stondeþ, stonden** *pr.pl.* B22/1, T22/1, B58/3, T58/3; ~
for defend T65/12

stounde *n.* moment B39/7; time B56/1

straytur *comp.adv.* more severely B77/9

strange *adj.* haughty, condescending B7/13

straunger *n.* guest B8/7, T67/5; **stroungere** B67/5

streccheþ, Strecchip *v.pr.3sg.* ~ *fer(e)* has far reaching
consequences B132/6, T132/11

streyne *v.* constrain B63/5, T63/5

stryues *n.pl.* disputes, conflicts B145/2

strong(e) *adj.*¹ sturdy, healthy B5/8; severe B91/14

stronge *adj.*² alien, foreign T20/7, B29/21,23; unrelated B120/18;

straunge T20/7

stude *v.* study T159/15

substaunce, *n.* entity B59/7, T59/7

sucoure *v.* assist, help B89/2

sue *v.* follow B97/3, T97/3; result T100/9; **suy** B17/1; **suwe**

B90/16. **sueþ** *pr.3sg.* B2/9, T2/9; **seweþ** B113/3. **sueþ**, **suen** *pr.pl.*

B84/9, T84/9. **suyng** *pr.p.* T110/15. **sued** *pp.* T155/10

suffre *v.* allow B37/9, B40/21. **suffreþ** *pr.3sg.* B77/4. **suffere**,

suffren *pr.pl.* B75/2, T75/2. **suffrid** *pp.* T108/4, T131/11

suget see **sogest** *adj.*

suget3, **sugetis** *n.pl.* *her(e)* ~ those under their spiritual

guidance B150/2,6, T150/2,6

suyrer *adj.comp.* safer T154/9. **suyrest** *sup.* most spiritually safe

T154/10

sum *adj.* a particular T159/4

sumde(e)l see **somdel** *n.* and *adv.*

sumtyme, **somtyme** *adv.* formerly T124/8; on occasion B152/8

susteyne *v.* nourish B22/6; support B128/14. **susteynen** *pr.pl.*

uphold T129/5

sustenaunce *n.* income, wealth B37/13

sutely see **sotellyche** *adv.*

sutyl, **sutel** see **sotel** *adj.*

swete *adj.* mild, of gentle disposition B39/12

tables *n.pl.* tablets B10/13, T10/5

take *v.* understand T15/2, B46/14; *refl.* commit self B135/2, T135/2; ~ *parte (of)* share B45/12. **takeþ** *pr.pl.* B45/10. **toke** *pa.t.sg.* gave B38/6. **toke** *pa.t.subj.pl.* ~ *to mynde* considered B31/8. **takun** *pp.* understood T98/7; ~ *by experience* as experience shows T34/12; ~ *to taken away and given to* T124/14. **ytake þe** committed yourself B78/6,10

takynge *vbl.n.* ~ *hede* paying attention B116/3

teche *v.* show T154/8

teching, techyng *vbl.n.* tutelage, guidance T86/5; illustration T114/6. **thechyng** teaching T66/3

tellynge, telling *vbl.n.* counting B73/5, T73/5

temporal *adj.* worldly B64/3, T64/2, T131/6

tenderloker *comp.adv.* more earnestly, more diligently B19/11

tymes *n.pl.* specific times B68/4, T68/4

title, tytle *n.* justification of claim, right, entitlement T124/10, B125/11; *bi* ~ *of* with the support, sponserhip of T129/6

to *num.* two B10/8

to *adv.* too T109/16

to *prep.* in the eyes of T98/9

tobroke *v.pp.* broken into pieces B17/4

tocomynge *v.pr.p.* coming, going to happen B29/5, B57/9

toged(e)re, togidre *adv.* together B46/15, B84/4, T84/4

tokene *n.* *in* ~ in remembrance of B72/2; as a sign T80/4, B111/17; *(in)to* ~ as a sign T15/10, B47/1; **tokyn** sign B9/13. **toknes** *pl.* B19/21

tolle *v.* attract B19/25

toþer *pron.* the other (of two) T113/4

touchēþ, touchiþ *v.pr.3sg.* pertains to, has bearing upon B144/2,

T144/2. **touchid** *pp.* touched on T121/4

trauayl(e, trauaille *n.* work B64/6, B96/7, B128/15; **traueil**

T64/6, **trauel** T65/1

trauayly, trauaylle, traueile *v.* labour, work B47/4, B63/6;

travel T73/9; **trauel(e** T63/5, T108/3; **trauely** B73/9.

trauelyþ, traueliþ *pr.3sg.* B86/4, T86/4. **traueilen, trauayleþ**

pr.pl. toil T33/5; strive B44/7. **trauailed, trauelide**

pa.t.subj.sg. B65/5, T65/4

tre *n.* wood B35/19, B37/8

treyn *adj.* wooden B40/15

tresoureþ, tresouren *v.pr.pl.* ~ to store up treasure for B97/8,

T97/8

trespas(se *n.* transgression B91/22, comparatively limited offence

T104/1; offence T104/7, B112/12; sin B152/8

trespasse *v.* sin, offend B115/15. **trespassist** *pr.2sg.* T58/1;

trespacest B58/1. **trespasseþ** *pr.3sg.* B116/11. **trespasseþ** *pr.pl.*

B93/14, B116/11. **trespassed** *pa.t.subj.pl.* B116/12

trespasser *n.* offender B104/5, T104/8; sinner B120/15. **trespassures** *pl.*

B90/9

treuþe, trewþe *n.* righteousness, virtue B44/7; truth T55/2,

T65/12; **trouþe** T34/13, T135/9; **trowþe** B54/1, B55/2; **treueþ**

spiritual reality T82/10

trewe *adj.* faithful B9/6; trusty B27/16; virtuous B37/14,

B42/6,15; rightful B44/10; honest B53/3, B55/1, T55/1

treweliche, trewelyche *adv.* justly B3/9; faithfully B19/27,

B125/8,13; honestly B145/7

trewauntes *n.pl.* those who neglect their duty B63/9; **triuauantis**
T63/9

triacle *n.* medicine, remedy T131/9

trystep *v.pr.3sg.* trusts, believes B41/6. **trystep**, **tristep** *pr.pl.*

B28/5,9. **tryste** *pr.subj.sg.* put faith in B33/6, trust B56/4.

triste *pr.subj.pl.* T3/8, B4/1. **trist(e** *imp.sg.* B26/16, B118/1, T118/1

tryst(e *n.* trust B25/6, B28/16

trowe *v.* believe (in) B31/7, B54/7, T54/7; trust T34/13; think

T108/1. **trowe** *pr.1sg.* T130/7,13. **trowen** *pr.pl.* T132/2. **trowe**

pr.subj.sg. trusts, hopes B140/4. **trowe** *imp.sg.* T147/3

turnep *v.pr.pl.* ~ to result in B9/23; **turne(n** *pr.subj.pl.* ~ *aæn*

return to a more godly life B152/1, T152/1

þat *rel.pron.* what B13/3, T13/3; with which B23/10, T23/3

þat *conj.* so that B31/15, T109/10

þe *refl.pron.* yourself B27/1, B78/17

þefþe *n.* theft B8/15, B94/2, B123/2

þey *pron.as dem.adj.* those B93/21

þey *conj.* though B115/8

þenk(e *v.* consider, think about B9/11, B77/18; ~ *on* imagine

B48/11; think about, consider T65/10, B68/9, T68/9; ~ *in* think

about B60/8. **þenken** *pr.pl.* T155/9. **þenke** *imp.sg.* B2/10, T2/9,

B12/9

þenkyng(e *vbl.n.* thinking B60/8, T60/8; opinion T158/11

þer(e *conj.* where T14/4, B165/17

þeraftir, **þerafter** *adv.* accordingly T14/11, B46/11

þeron *adv.* in that B116/12

þicke *adv.* frequently T108/14

pylke *dem.adj.* that same B33/5, B115/6; **pulke** B90/2,8

pylke *dem.pron.* those B45/1

pinkip, **pinkeþ** *v.impers.pr.3sg. me ~ it seems to me* T32/1, T33/7,
T80/8; **pynkeþ** B55/6; **þenkeþ** B103/1,5

þonkeþ *v.pr.3sg. thanks* B145/12, **þonke** *imp.sg.* B78/11

þorou see **þurgh** *prep.*

þraldom *n.* captivity B14/4

þrydde, **þridde** *adj.* third B66/5, T66/7

þrysteþ *v.3sg.pres.ind.* is thirsty B40/5

pulke see **pylke** *dem.adj.*

þurgh *prep.* through B4/11, B17/13, B18/13; **þorou** T129/9

vnblissid *v.pp.* not yet glorified T136/2

vnbuxom *adj.* disobedient B10/3, B89/18, B90/11

vnclannis *n.* moral impurity B94/8

vnclene *adj.* impure B116/4, B120/17; ~ *spirit* wicked spirit,
demon B16/12

vncunnynge *vbl.n.* ignorance B16/10

vndedlyche *adj.* immortal B136/5

vndermyne *v.* dig up T109/13

vnderput *v.pp.* under the power of B16/14

vnderstondyng *n.* faculty of understanding and reasoning
B38/14,16,17

vneuen *adj.* unequal T131/5

vnjust(e) *adj.* sinful B125/18, T125/1

vnkyndely *adj.* unnatural B111/18

vnkyndelyche *adv.* ungratefully B78/8; with unnatural enmity
B102/7; **vnkyndly** T102/7

- vnkyndenesse** *n.* ingratitude B78/11,13; lack of consideration B91/22, T122/3
- vnlawesom** *adj.* not permissible B116/4,9
- vnleffful(le** *adj.* illicit, not permissible B75/3, B137/2, B138/2;
vnleueful T75/3, T137/2, T138/2
- vnmesurable** *adj.* immoderate B90/4
- vnmeuable** *adj.* immovable B143/11; **vnmoeuable** T143/5
- vnneþe** *adv.* hardly B92/22
- vnnoble** *adj.* *maad* ~ deprived of rank T99/12
- vnrystful** *adj.* unrighteous B46/2
- vnsensyble, vnsensible** *adj.* not capable of being perceived by the senses B48/4, T48/4
- vnskylful, vnskilful** *adj.* unreasonable B101/3, T101/4, T124/12
- vnwaar** *adj.* incautious T154/8
- vnwexep** *v.pr.3sg.* wanes, declines B5/10
- vnworshipe** *v.inf.* dishonour T99/3
- vse(n** *v.pl.pres.ind.* pursue B75/3, T75/3; are in the habit of doing T104/3
- vss** *n.* practice T80/5; use T124/5
- vauntage** *n.* advantage B11/8, T11/7
- veyn** *adj.* worthless B97/4, T97/4; **vayne** B40/16
- veyneglorye** *n.* unwarranted pride in (worldly) accomplishments B26/6
- vencusse*** *v.* overcome B117/13; **vencushe** T117/1. **vencussed*** *pp.* B63/2; **vencushid** T63/1
- venemed** *v.pp. as adj.* harmful, noxious T109/17
- veniaunce** *n.* vengeance T15/7; desire for vengeance T103/5

venyme *v.* corrupt T110/2

verrayliche, verraylyche *adv.* truly B142/15, B161/10; **veryliche**
B18/17

verrey, verray *adj.* true T20/5, B40/17, B91/12

vertu(e *n.* power B17/3; *in, bi* ~ of through the power of B55/9,
T61/7

vycarye *n.* *Cristis* ~ the Pope B151/7

viker *n.* ~ of *Crist*, *Cristis* ~ the Pope T130/4, T151/6-7

visyte, visite *v.pr.1sg.* avenge B7/13, T14/9; **vysyteþ** *pr.3sg.*
B44/19

voyde *adj.* vain, wasted B18/1

vouchep *v.pr.3sg.* ~ *sauf* condescends B41/16-17

wayte *v.* expect B55/15

waytynges *n.pl.* ambushes B27/19

wandre *v.* walk B61/2, T61/3, T155/2

wantone *adj.* naughty, undisciplined B13/3; **wantoun** T13/3

war *adj.* careful B50/3, T50/3, B54/1, T54/1

warly *adv.* carefully B47/13, T47/3

warne *v.imp.sg.* advise, caution B35/14. **warned** *pp.* cautioned
T131/15

waterleche, watirleche *n.* waterleech B148/8, T148/9

weye *n.* *by* ~ of in accordance with (his) B111/7

weke see **woke** *n.*

wel *adv.* very B132/6

wele *n.* prosperity B163/9,11

wem *n.* moral defilement, stain (of sin) B65/6, T65/5

wendyng(e *vbl.n.* journey B71/6, T71/6; turning B115/10

wene *v.* think T98/3. **weneþ**, **wenen** *pr.pl.* B13/4, T13/4, B30/7;
intend B87/5, T87/5

werk(e *n.* work T60/5, T76/4. **werkis**, **werkes**, **werkys** *pl.* work
T67/1; deeds B75/1, T75/1; **workes** B8/4,6

wete see **wyte** *v.*

wexe *v.* increase, advance B82/5, T156/16. **wexeþ** *pr.3sg.* B5/10.

wexen *pr.pl.* T156/15. **waxe(n** *pp.* grown B149/9, T149/9

what *adj.* whatever B2/5, T2/5, T114/10

wher(e *conj.* whether B136/7, B138/7, B148/1

whyles *conj.* whilst B91/3

who *pron.* whoever T129/6

whoso *pron.* whoever T124/6

wydue *n.* widow B120/14

wyzttes *n.pl.* weights B128/7

wyke see **woke** *n.*

wyle *n.* wicker trap for catching fish B17/10

wilfullyche*, **wylfullyche** *adv.* freely B3/2; intentionally
B115/10; **wilfully** T3/2

wille *n.* favour T124/15

willeful(le *adj.* full of purpose B96/8, T96/8

willen *v.* have the intention, wish T158/7. **wolt** *pr.2sg.* wish to
B37/10, B38/2, T75/7. **wole** *pr.3sg.* will B26/16, B54/8, T54/8; decrees

B95/11,12, T95/5. **wole** *pr.3sg.* wishes B3/11, T3/7; **wole** *pr.subj.sg.*

B75/7. **wolleþ** *pr.pl.* B12/1,4, B17/1; mean B19/16. **wol(e(n,** *pr.subj.pl.*

T64/9, B65/1, T97/3, B164/3; **wille** B97/3. **willynge** *pr.p.* B112/16

wylne *v.* wish, desire B128/8. **wilneþ**, **wylneþ** *pr.3sg.* B19/25,

B112/11. **wilnynge** *pr.p.* B39/6. **wylnede** *pa.t.subj.pl.* B161/7

wynne *v.* gain, profit B128/11,12,13

wynnyng *vbl.n.* gain T30/3

wyse, wise *n.* ways B21/1,11, T21/1,9; manner B60/9, T60/9; *no* ~

not at all B60/8, T60/8; *oper* ~ under any other conditions

B102/6, T102/6. **wyses** *pl.* manners B136/4

wyte, wite *v.* know B48/4, T48/3; **ywyte** B21/1, B58/3; **ywete**

B161/7. **wote, woot** *pr.1sg.* B75/4, T75/4. **wost** *pr.2sg.* B5/14,

B111/12. **wyteþ, witen** *pr.pl.* B2/3, T2/3. **wyte** *pr.subj.sg.* be assured

B28/12. **wete, wite, wyte** *pr.subj.pl.* be assured B105/1, T123/11; be

aware B117/12. **wite** *imp.sg.* T105/2

wit(t, wyt(t *n.* wisdom B2/10, T2/9; the faculty of reasoning,

intellect T15/9, B46/21; thought, intention B52/9, T52/9; attention, mind

B60/2, T60/3; sense B68/3, T68/3; *bodili* ~ the senses T50/3. **wyttes** *pl.*

mental faculties, intellectual powers B20/5, B82/4; senses B50/3, B91/17;

wittis meanings T69/5

wytty, witti *adj.* wise B96/8, T118/4

wytinglyche *adv.* deliberately B62/5; **wittingly*** T62/5

wlappen *v.pr.pl.* enclose, envelop T21/8

wo *n.* misfortune B163/9

woke *n.* week T68/5, B69/6; **weke** B5/11, B76/2; **wyke** B68/4

wolc, wolt, wolleþ, wole(n see **willen** *v.*

woneþ *v.pr.3sg.* dwells B83/4, T83/5. **woneþ** *pr.pl.* B57/6. **ywoned**

pp. accustomed B45/8

wonynge *vbl.n.* somewhere to live B86/5

worche *v.* work B8/4, B64/7, T64/7; do B12/5, T12/2. **worchip,**

worchep *pr.3sg.* T121/16, T122/2,4; ~ *wip* helps B106/2, T106/1-2

worchyng(e *vbl.n.* carrying out, performance B28/21, T72/5;

- action, contrivance B29/20; actions B79/8. **worchynges** *pl.* deeds B19/8
- word** *n.* speech T110/10
- wordle** *n.* world B42/11, B77/19; **worlde** *n.as adj.* worldly B135/9
- word(e)lyche** *adj.* worldly B25/5,11; **worliche** B13/4; **worlyche** B22/13
- worschep(e)** *n.* honour, renown B13/5, B26/5; honourable position B151/8; **worship** T13/4
- worschepe, worshipe** *v.inf.* honour B87/3,5, T87/3,5. **worschepest, worshipist** *pr.2sg.* B95/10, T95/6. **worschepeþ, worshipiþ** *pr.3sg.* B96/1, T96/1. **worschepeþ, worshipen** *pr.pl.* B87/6, T87/7,8.
- worschepe** *imp.sg.* B8/11, B85/3; **worshipe** T85/2
- worschepful** *adj.* distinguished B16/22
- worschepfullyche** *adv.* in an honourable manner B32/4
- worschepyng** *vbl.n.* honour B88/9
- worpy** *adj.* powerful B37/17
- wost** see **wyte** *v.*
- wreþe** *n.* wrath B22/18, B29/9
- wrynkel(e)** *n.* moral stain or blemish B65/6, T65/5
- wrong** *n.* *wip* ~ wrongly B145/6,13,19
- wrongful** *adj.* unjust, sinful B128/5
- wrongfullyche** *adv.* sinfully B112/3,16; unjustly B125/16, B141/12

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CC indicates a Commandments Commentary.

The letters R, D and DR plus roman numeral indicate one of the various rhetorical, discursive or mixed versions as outlined in the chapter on the Related Commandments Commentaries.

Cambridge University Library

Bb.14.54: CC

Ff.6.2: English tracts

Ii.6.43: CC, RIib

Kk.1.3. item 22: CC, DI

Nn.4.12: CC, DVII

Additional 5338: English sermons, overlapping with TCD MS 241
and Camb. St. John's College G.22.

Cambridge, Emmanuel College

246: CC, DVIII

1. Manuscripts which have only been consulted in the form of a printed edition are not listed here. The editions in question appear under *Other Primary Sources*.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College

354/581: Middle English version of the *Rosarium Theologie*

Cambridge, Pembroke College

285:CC

Cambridge, St. John's College

G.22 (190): English sermons overlapping with TCD MS 241 and CUL MS Add.5338.

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College

74: CC, DI

Cambridge, Trinity College

R.3.21: CC, DRI

Dublin, Trinity College

69: CC, DI

70: CC, RI

241: English Sermons, overlapping with Cul MS Add.5338 and Camb.

St. John's College G.22

Edinburgh University Library

93: CCs, RIV, DRI

Glasgow University

General 223: CC, DIII

Hunterian 472: CC, DVII

Hunterian 512: CC

Leeds University

Brotherton Collection 501: CC, DI

Lincoln Cathedral

91:CC

London, British Library

Additional 10036: CC
Additional 27592: CC, DVII
Additional 28026: CC, RVa
Arundel 286: CC, DI
Cotton Titus D.XIX: CC, DX
Cotton Vespasian A.XXIII: CC, DI
Harley 211: CC, DX
Harley 218: CC, DI
Harley 401: *The Floretum*
Harley 2250: CC, DI
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Royal 18.A.X: CC, RVII
London, Dr. Williams Library
Ancillary 3: CC, RVc
London, Society of Antiquaries
687: CC, DI
London, Westminster School
3: CC, DI
Oxford, Bodleian Library
Ashmole 751: CC
Bodley 85: CC, DVII
Bodley 938: CC, RVd
Douce 246: CC, DIV

Douce 274: CC, DIX

Hatton 12: CC

Laud Misc. 23: CC, DX

Laud Misc. 30: CC, RVd

Laud Misc. 210: CC, DI

Laud Misc. 524: CCs, DI, DXI

Laud Misc. 656: CC

Laud Misc. 699: CC, RVb

Rawlinson A.381: CC, DI

Rawlinson A.423: CC, DI

Rawlinson C.209: CC, RIIa

Rawlinson C.288: CC, RVII

Tanner 336: CC, RVI

Oxford, New College

67: CC, RIII

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86: CC, RIII

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97: CC, DI

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3390: CC, DI

Princeton University

Garret 143 (Princeton University Deposit 1459): CC, DI

St. Albans Cathedral Library

Catechetica: CC, DX

San Marino, California, Huntington Library

HM 744: CC, DI

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